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Articles 317-327

CONTENTS

| | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| 317 Classification and significance of the Symbols on the Silver Punch marked Coins of Ancient India By Durga Prasad | 5 |
| 318 Observations on some Āndhra Coins By M F C Martin | 61 |
| 319 Some New Dates and Varieties of the Coinage of the Sultans of Madura By Shamsu d din Ahmad | 63 |
| 320 Some Copper Coins of Janjira By R G Gyām | 71 |
| 321 A Coin of the Abbasids found at Paharpur Bengal By K N Dikshit | 75 |
| 322 A new Kadara Chief By Prayag Dayal | 77 |
| 323 The Danish Coins of Tranquebar By H Heras S J | 79 |
| 324 Some rare Mughal Coins in the State Museum Hyderabad (Deccan) By Khwaja M Ahmad | 87 |
| 325 Some new Mint Towns of the Sultans of Gujarāt By C R S ngbal | 93 |
| 326 Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum Vol III Coins of Nādir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty by R B Whitehead I C S (Retd.)—A Review By S H Hodivala | 99 |
| 327 Three rare Kushan Gold Coins By Ajit Ghose | 107 |

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317 CLASSIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA

Introduction

It is not a matter of satisfaction from the numismatic point of view, that comparatively little attention has been paid to the silver punch marked coins of India, the DHARANA, or PURANA,¹ also designated as PANA,² which are available in large numbers throughout the country including Afghanistan.

A brief survey of the contributions on the subject by various scholars would not be out of place here. The numismatists who paid attention to the punch marked coins, were Mr Thomas Sir A Cunningham, Prof Wilson, Mr Rodgers, Mr W Theobald, Mr W Elliot, Dr V Smith, Dr Spooner, Dr Bhandarkar, and Mr Walsh.

Sir A Cunningham was the first to establish them as the indigenous ancient coins of this country. In his *Coins of Ancient India* he has clearly shown that the ancient Hindus had their own coining system, dislodging the previous incorrect belief of some numismatists and scholars, that the Indians borrowed the art of coining from the ancient Greeks, who a century after Alexander the Great came to India, and established their rule over the N W parts of the country, in the 2nd century B C. Though Cunningham has very carefully determined their standard weight in Raktikās (Rattis) and grains and identified the silver punch marked coins (the *signati argenti* of the Greek historian Quintus Curtius) with the ancient Dharana or Purana, the silver Karshapana, or Kāhāpana of the Sanskrit and Pāli texts and classics (to which should now be added the silver 'PANA' of Kautilya as well), and noticed that the symbols were stamped by separate punches on the coins, yet he did not classify them according to the grouping of figures punched on them. But he could roughly fix the limit of the period of minting and currency of these silver punch marked coins, between 600 and 200 B C. He also noticed that some worn out punch marked coins were found mixed along with the silver

¹ Vana

² Kautilya

coins of the Indo Greeks of the 2nd century B.C. which were fresh in appearance and came to the safe conclusion that the said punch marked coins must have been manufactured at least about a century before the Indo Greek coins in other words in the 3rd century B.C. He also discovered a few much worn silver coins¹ from the deposit at the foot of Vajrasana or throne of Buddha in the temple of Mahabodhi at Buddha Gaya which was made about 150 A.D. during the reign of Huvishka thus limiting the period of their circulation as late as the middle of the 2nd century A.D. In another place (C.A.I. p. 43) he has mentioned that they were current in the time of Buddha in the 6th century B.C. and further stated that 'I see no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1000 B.C. They certainly belong to the very infancy of coinage the only ones that could have preceded them would have been blank pieces of weighed silver'. But Dr. Vincent Smith did not agree with him on this point about the very early age of the silver punch marked coins but accepted their age of 400 B.C. on the data then available. Data now available prove that Sir Alexander Cunningham was not far of the mark.

It may be pointed out that so far no distinction was noted between the different types of silver punch marked coins of different periods. The coins which were found mixed with the Indo Greek coins were of the period of about the 3rd century B.C. It should be noted that there have been discovered different types of silver punch marked coins which are actually of a much earlier period as they have a distinct archaic appearance and are of a crude thin broad and unshapely fabric with bold simple symbols which undoubtedly led Sir Cunningham to think of their very ancient age. So far only three different types of silver punch marked coins have been published and described by several scholars. The writer of this article has had the fortune of acquiring and studying seven different types of silver coins four of which have not been published as yet but in this thesis he has described with illustrations the other four types which remained unpublished. A set of them is in the Lucknow Museum and the remaining 3 are in his own cabinet. On the grounds described elsewhere in this thesis the punch marked coins could be ascribed to three different periods and have been tentatively described as coins of the Early the Middle and the Later periods none being later than the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. the earliest may be as old as 8th century B.C.

The scholar who specially paid attention to the symbols found on the Indian punch marked coins collected and illustrated them with an attempt to interpret and describe them was

¹ One of the coins is illustrated in C.A.I. Pl. I No. 15 described on page 53.

Mr. W. Theobald, undoubtedly the pioneer in this work. But with due appreciation of his elaborate work, and contribution to this particular branch of Indian numismatics, it would not be too much to say that he failed in many places to make out the actual symbols correctly, as is evident from his own revised articles published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1901, Vol. LXX, Part I and Vol. LIX of 1890, Part I. In this first article he included the symbols of the copper punch-marked coins of Eran, of later dates, in several cases he could not find the complete symbol, but incorrectly described different parts of the same figure as different figures, and counted them as separate symbols, even in his revised second article he could not eliminate all the inaccuracies, but added a number of new symbols by mere description without illustrating them. He did not attempt any classification of the coins according to their symbol groups, fabric, and weight, which is the clue to differentiate one type from another. His discovery about the similarity of symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Ancient India to some of the ancient symbols found on the early stones of Europe is really remarkable and important from the historical point of view.

The next scholar who attempted to fix the period of currency of the punch-marked coins was Dr Bhandarkar,¹ but his conclusions were all based on the study of the copper punch marked coins of Benagar of later period, and are not wholly applicable to the coins of very early periods.

Dr Spooner² also described and published with illustrations some of the silver punch-marked coins, which he obtained from the vicinity of Taxila the ancient Taksha-Silā of the Hindus; undoubtedly he was the first to notice the grouping arrangement of symbols on the coins, but was led to believe wrongly that the symbols were all Buddhist, which I showed to be erroneous in my previous thesis on the silver punch marked coins of ancient India,³ a paper read at the All-India Numismatic Society's meeting held at Delhi in 1931. Professor R D Banerji, the discoverer of Mohenjodaro also described a hoard which was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by the Ameer of Afghanistan. His description⁴ did not enlighten us on the subject, he could not make out the symbols accurately, and naturally so, as the coins were of smaller size and much obliterated, almost all the symbols were found superimposed, a mere jumble of figures most difficult to decipher.

Dr V Smith, who very ably prepared the catalogue of Indian coins in the Calcutta Museum, assigning them their proper eras and periods also described the symbols of the

¹ Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp 78 ff

² A S R., 1905 06, p 150

³ A booklet published privately by the author.

⁴ NS. XIII, (76), 1910

silver punch marked coins in a separate chapter but from the brief description of the symbols it appears that he did not pay much attention to them and could not throw any light on the subject. Mr Walsh President of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1919) was the last scholar who contributed something substantial towards the subject. He elaborately described two different hoards of silver punch marked coins of two different types found in the city of Patna and Bhagalpur District in the province of Bihar. His observations were published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 1919 Vol V Part I (the Golakhpur and Ghorogbat hoards). He noticed that generally there were 5 symbols on the obverse side of the coins grouped methodically which he classified scientifically. He also found that the Golakhpur hoard coins were quite different from those previously published, and considered the coins to be of an early period but he could not fix their exact time.

In this thesis attempt has been made to collect illustrate and describe as far as practicable all the symbols which were seen complete on well preserved silver coins which could be ascertained by a comparative study of over 4 000 silver punch marked coins from a dozen different hoards kept in different Indian Museums private collections of Mr Srinath Sah of Benares who obtained them from Ahraura District Mirzapur and Captain M F C Martin R E President of the Numismatic Society of India 1929 who obtained them from Swat Hasanah dal Kosam Mathura and other places to all of whom my thanks are due and the author's own collection. Attempt has also been made to revise the list of symbols found on the silver punch marked coins illustrated and described by Mr W Theobald in the *J.A.S.B.* in Vol LIX 1890 and Vol LXX of 1901 by carefully copying the figures from well preserved coins for the sake of accurate and scientific classification of the coins according to the symbol groups punched on them which would be actually helpful in differentiating the various types of different periods and localities thus providing a key to ascertain the period in which they were minted for currency. The author did not leave the work of drawing of symbols to other hands but undertook to do himself with great care as it needed definite accuracy. The drawings of the symbols are made black as they would appear if the raised parts of the punched coins be coated with blacking. The figures are almost all drawn to the size seen on the coins. Out of 564 illustrated figures some of which are really variations of the same symbols only half a dozen figures are doubtful. On comparison of shapes weights and symbol groups of the coins as studied by the author they are found to be of six different types there may be more but they are not yet published nor seen by the author up to the time of writing of this thesis. As stated before only 3 different types

have been published but the author could secure coins of half a dozen different types of two different standard weights both known in the early Sanskrit literature which seem to be of different periods ranging from 800 B C or more down to the second or first century B C. The correct interpretation of the symbols is expected to open a new vista for researches in the history of ancient Hindu India. In this thesis endeavour is made to bring out some new observations on the subject. The author is of course open to correction and would welcome scholarly criticism as he is well aware of the soft ground on which he is treading. The most important discovery made by the study of the symbols of the punch marked coins is their resemblance to the figures and the pictographs found on the MOHENJO DARO seals. Some 42 symbols have been selected 34 of which are exactly similar and the remaining 8 have close resemblance to them as illustrated on Pls XXVIII and XXIX thus showing a connecting link between the period of the INDUS VALLEY civilization and the period during which the silver punch marked coins were manufactured for currency.

This booklet has been divided into 3 chapters the first chapter deals with the description of the three different types of unpublished silver punch marked coins with illustrations the second contains a description of some 564 symbols collected and illustrated from a large number of well preserved coins by the author most of the MUDRAS (symbols) described in the SANSKRIT texts of the early and medieval periods with their technical names resemble them. The third chapter contains notes on the observations of the methodical grouping system of the symbols on the silver punch marked coins of different periods and localities with illustrations of over two hundred and twenty five coins and their different grouping arrangements of symbols of which 180 coins are in the author's own cabinet. The essay has thirty two plates illustrated on 30 full pages.

I A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THIRTEEN UNPUBLISHED EARLY SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS NOW IN THE CABINET OF PROVINCIAL MUSEUM LUCKNOW

While prosecuting my studies of the silver punch marked coins 13 unusually big coins rather the biggest I had ever seen were noticed well kept in a cabinet in the Museum at Lucknow, thanks to the Curator Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal who permitted me to handle the coins for study and copying the symbols punched on them. Unfortunately there was no record of their provenance in the Museum most probably they were obtained from Western U P¹. The coins have a very archaic

¹ Twenty five Coins of similar fabrication were obtained by the author from Mathurā. See Plate XXVI

appearance and looked dirty grey but on cleaning they were found to be beautifully preserved coins as if very little used bearing no signs of wear and tear. All the coins are thin broad pieces of round or elliptical shape the biggest being $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$ the smallest $9'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$ with an average weight of 42 grains the heaviest being 43.8 and the lightest 40 grains hence it can be inferred that their actual weight was 24 Raktikas of early days. As the coins looked fresh without any sign of much use it can not be said that they have lost as much as 14 or 17 grains the standard weight of silver punch marked coins being 32 Raktikas according to MANU¹ or over 57.6 grains according to Cunningham. It may be inferred that the coins are $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Purana or Dharana but as there is no mention of $\frac{3}{4}$ fraction except a half a fourth and an eighth² by Manu or Kautilya they seem to be Puranas of 24 Raktika standard weight of about 44 grains. This theory of a lighter standard weight of 24 Raktikas silver coins is supported by early Sanskrit astronomical texts. COLEBROOKE in his article on *Indian Weights and Measures* published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1801 page 90 has said that GOPALA BHATTAR in early author mentions that from the ancient astronomical books it is found that a Dharana was of 24 Raktikas and he has given a table of weight as follows —

2 Yavas (barley) = 1 Gunja 3 Gunjas = 1 Balla 8 Ballas = 1 Dharana. As 2 barleys are equal to 1 Gunja or Raktika 1 Dharana contains 24 Raktikas or Rattis. It is clear from this that either at some period or locality silver coins of 24 Raktikas standard weight were current. It may be that at some period before MANU the Dharanas were of 24 Raktikas though in his time they were of 32 Rattis. The term Purana used by MANU may refer to these lighter coins of earlier period. Sir A. Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* on page 47 writes The Karshapana was also called DHARANA probably meaning a handful of 16 copper Panas from DHRI to hold. But a more common name was PURANA or 'the old' which could only have been imposed upon it after the Greek occupation of the Punjab which is about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. but on page 90 he said In the Hindu books they are called PURANA or OLD a title which vouches for their antiquity. They are mentioned by MANU and PANINI both anterior to Alexander. The above two different statements of Cunningham

¹ Manusmriti Chapter 8 Slokas 130 and 136—

इ लण्णे समध्वे विजयो रौप्यमायकः ।

दे वादश स्यादस्य पुराणदेव राजतः ।

² Kautilya's Arthashastra, Book II Chapter Ist Sloka 9 —

लवणाध्वज्यनुभजिताव द्यवप दीन्ध्रपुत्रीसाङ्गानामन्यतम मायवीजयुक्त
कारयेत् पञ्चमपञ्च पादमष्टभागमिति ।

are contradictory if he places MANU before Alexander in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. his explanation of the name PURANA as used by Manu after the Greek occupation of the Punjab in comparison of their coinage falls short. The author thinks that the word PURANA was used by Manu as he knew the earlier coins of his time which were of a different fabrication and type—thin and broad or of a lighter standard weight just as we do now a day call the later Moghal coins as *Purana Rupia*.

It may be pointed out here that these are not the only coins of lighter standard weight of 24 Rattis there are 20 other silver punch marked coins in my cabinet of a different type and archaic appearance of 24 Rattis standard weight (see Pl. VI)

Another noticeable feature of these early coins is that they all bear only 4 bold and big symbols on their obverse side rather crudely designed quite unlike the ordinary silver punch marked coins which bear 5 symbols of finer execution. On their reverse side they have smaller symbols of a simpler design from 3 to 14 in number (see Pls I II III and the Supplementary Pl. XXI). Some of them are so thickly punched on their reverse side that they have assumed a saucer shape the convexity is towards the side on which the smaller symbols were punched this being done as usual with the punch marked coins after the bigger symbols were impressed and hence the bigger symbols on the obverse side are very much flattened and distorted. The term Obverse is used here in its literal sense it is the side on which its chief figures are punched. The bigger symbols are punched in groups of four forming a *methodical series*—a conspicuous feature of all the punch marked coins of different types indicating a systematically evolved stage of the coinage of the early Hindu period. As stated before almost all the symbols on these coins are of a simple nature on both sides, and may be called elementary symbols formed by simple curves and lines or a combination of 2 3 or 4 simple figures of the same kind arranged artistically. The symbols found on the obverse side of the later thicker square and circular silver punch marked coins which are found in abundance throughout India are generally of a more complicated nature composed of two three or more different simple symbols as will be evident on looking at the Pls IX to XXI for example the figures of the groups in the third columns throughout are composed of three different simple or elementary symbols found on the early coins illustrated on Pls I II and III in the fourth columns. But on the reverse side of these later coins the symbols are of simple form like those on the said early coins but they are smaller in size of finer and better execution. As stated before these 13 coins are very thin and broad a fact which was also noted by Cunningham in his *Coins of Ancient India* where he has stated that coins of thin and broad fabrication are of early

period he also mentioned that silver was imported in large quantities in thin beaten plates from Tarshush and gold was taken in exchange from Ophir the Saberia of Ptolemy the SINDHU SAUVIRA of ancient India. The coins are all of alloyed silver which on analysis is found to contain silver 75 per cent copper 24.6 per cent with trace of iron and lead 4 per cent.

A notable fact about these early symbols is that a large number of them can be reconciled with the later MUDRAS or VIJA symbols mentioned in the Sanskrit texts of early and medieval periods which the author has dealt with in the second chapter of this thesis with illustrations.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF TWENTY UNPUBLISHED SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS OF ARCHAIC TYPE IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

Some 20 crudely formed silver coins (see Pl VI) were obtained from Lucknow about 5 years ago. They are irregularly formed rectangular and round in shape of dirty grey colour (before cleaning) their find spot could not be traced as they were purchased from a dealer. On chemical analysis they were found to contain 75 parts of silver and about 25 parts of copper with traces of other impurities. The coins appear somewhat worn their average weight being 40.3 grains or 21.3 Rattis the heaviest is 47 and the lightest 37 grains or 20 Rattis only 6 of them are round but the rest are rectangular or square crudely shaped with one or two corners cut to regulate their weight of sizes varying from 87' x 56' to 81' x 5'. The coins are also of the same average weight rather a little less than the coins of Lucknow Museum described before there is no reason to believe that these coins have lost more than 10 grains in weight if they were of 32 Rattis standard weight as all the symbols are very clearly visible without an indication of much use. They seem to be Dharanas or Puranas of 24 Rattis weight. These coins have also four bold and crude symbols on their obverse but on their reverse side they bear from 1 to 4 smaller simple symbols only a few are blank on their reverse with anvil marks. The symbols are all punched in a methodical group forming a series five of which could be recognized in such a small lot as will be evident from Pl VI. The first two figures in column 3 a triskelis and the so-called Taurine symbol placed in a shield like frame are conspicuously common on all the 20 coins but the third and the fourth figures are changed thus forming a series of two sub-classes with five different groups of 4 symbols. These coins having only four symbols on their obverse of a crude and bold design and being of 24 Rattis standard weight come under the category of early punch marked coins. All the symbols found on these coins as well as of the Lucknow Museum

coins, together with the symbols seen on the Golakhpur coins are illustrated on Pls XXII, XXIII, and XXIV, and are described in the second chapter of the thesis. The symbols on the Obverse side of the coins are marked with asterisks to differentiate them from those seen on the Reverse side, as both of them are illustrated together on the same three plates.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF A THIRD VARIETY OF UNPUBLISHED SILVER COINS WHICH ARE IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

Another type of coins quite different in size and fabrication are the half Dharanas or Purāṇas, of two different kinds, thin and thick pieces of small size. They are 10 in number, all halves of 32 Ratti Purāṇas. They bear only one bold symbol on one side, owing to their very small size, on the other side there are from 2 to 11 small symbols, which being punched afterwards caused the flattening of the obverse symbols, the coins are Ardha Kārahāpūnas weighing on average, 14 Rattis or 25.2 grains, having lost 3.4 grains by wear and tear, they seem to be of two different types, the thinner broad pieces bear more symbols of a different design than the thicker coins of smaller size on their reverse, as they have single symbols on their obverse side, they cannot be classified on group system.

There is also a *Diṭṭi paṇa*, or DOUBLE PURAṆA of silver in the cabinet, of 32 Rattis standard weight, a rare piece. It is a thick rectangular coin bearing 13 symbols on one side only, the other side bearing anvil marks and though the coin is a thicker piece it has assumed a saucer shape owing to as much as 13 punching of figures. Its weight is 68.75 Rattis or 105.75 grains, having lost 5.25 Rattis or 7.45 grains by usage. The symbols on it resemble those found on the Lucknow Museum coins. It is illustrated on Pl VII¹.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE GOLAKHPUR HOARD COINS OF THE PATNA MUSEUM

Another set of early coins really a connecting link between the early and the middle period coins are known as the Golakhpur hoard described and published by Mr Walsh in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* of 1919, Vol I Part I. These coins were found from 15 feet below the surface in an earthen *ghārā* in the city of Patna buried in the sandy bank of the Ganges in the Mohilla of Golakhpur whence the name of the hoard. Mr Walsh could classify these coins according to the grouping of symbols but he did not illustrate the group figures which the author has done in this thesis see Pls IV and V.

¹ The 3 plates VI VII and VIII, are printed together on the same page.

It will be seen from the illustrations that there are generally five symbols on the obverse side of the coins which are 107 in number and though 16 of them bear 6 or 7 symbols on their obverse they do not interfere with their grouping arrangement of five symbols. These extra symbols which are also illustrated in column 4 of the plates seem to be smaller reverse symbols punched by mistake on the obverse side the symbols on reverse side are also shown in the 5th column. It may be seen from the illustrations that the first 2 figures are found on all the coins but the 3rd 4th, and 5th symbols are changed thus forming different groups of five symbols in a series. In all there are 34 groups of 5 symbols each out of one hundred and seven coins as illustrated in the said journal. The system adopted by the author for the classification of coins on the scientific basis of group symbols in this thesis is described in the 3rd Chapter. On analysis the coin was found to contain Silver 62 per cent Copper 10 per cent and Iron Lead and other impurities 3 per cent. The coins are very brittle thin and broad.

II DESCRIPTION OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE DHARANAS OR PURANAS OF ANCIENT HINDU INDIA

This chapter has been divided into two parts the first one deals with the symbols seen on the silver punch marked coins which in the opinion of the author are of an early period which have been collected and illustrated by copying the symbols directly from the best preserved coins. These symbols are simple and elementary of crude delineation numbering over 238 illustrated on Pls XXII XXIII and XXIV.

Undoubtedly some of them are different variations of the same symbols in form and size and they should not be counted as different ones although they are numbered on the plates in the serial order actually the number of different symbols on the 3 plates is one hundred and seventy six. The figures on the plates are drawn entirely black as they would appear if the raised parts of the coins were coated with blacking this was done to give a clearer impression to the eyes and they are drawn to the size as are seen on the coins. This illustrated list of symbols would not only be helpful to the collectors of such coins for prosecuting their studies but would open a new field for their correct interpretation which is expected to reveal many new facts bearing on the ancient history of Hindu India. The second part deals with the symbols found on the coins which are available throughout India and are of a better and finer execution and in the opinion of the author are of the later period.

The number of symbols so far collected by the author from such coins and illustrated is one hundred and eighty two on Pls XXVI and XXVII out of which 10 are duplicate

variations thus the number is reduced to 167. The symbols found on the reverse side of these coins which are generally very small are shown separately on Pl XXV. These small symbols are most difficult to decipher, as they are punched very lightly on the back which is generally worn out making these reverse symbols nearly invisible. One hundred and seventy four small symbols have been collected most of which are similar to the symbols found on the early coins illustrated on Pls XXII XXIII and XXIV and out of these 174 symbols only 64 are such as are not illustrated on the other plates. In this way the actual total number of different symbols seen on both the sides of the later period coins which could be collected comes to two hundred and thirty one thus giving the grand total of FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVEN different symbols, found on six different types of silver punch marked coins.¹ Undoubtedly many more are expected to be added to the list.

The chief notable feature of the symbols found on the obverse side of the middle and later period coins is their complex design. Most of the symbols are composed of two or three *different simple symbols* generally seen on the early coins artistically arranged for example in Fig 28 of Pl XXVI it will be seen that the symbol is formed by the symmetrical combination of three *various simple symbols* found on the early coins viz Figs 4 and 10 of Pl XXII and the Fig 107 of Pl XXIII. In this way a large number of symbols will be found on analysis to be composed of two three or four various simple symbols all known to exist on earlier punch marked coins. The later symbols evolved out of the early simple ones and there came into existence a sort of *Mudra*² *Lipi* as called in later times.

Another special feature which differentiates and separates the coins of the Middle and Later periods from those of the early period is that out of 163 symbols illustrated on Pls XXVI and XXVII there are less than a dozen symbols which may be said to be similar to those found on the early coins except the complex symbols in which the simple symbols are their component parts. The only symbols found on the obverse of the middle and later period coins which may be said to be similar to the symbols of the early period coins are Figs 1 2 29 32 55 of Pl XXVI and Figs 74 76 88 97 115 and 118 of Pl XXVII which are similar to the Fig 19 of Pl XXII Figs 89 128 124 137 155 and 153 of Pl XXIII Fig 7 of Pl XXII,

¹ Early punch marked coin symbols found on the *Obverse* and *Reverse* sides are all illustrated together on Pls XXII XXIII and XXIV but the *Obverse* symbols are marked with Asterisks.

² There were 5 kinds of *Lipi* as mentioned in *Sabdakalpadruma* —
Mudra 1 *pih* 5 *ipa* 1 *piri* 1 *prlekham* *sambhava* *Gund ka* *ghuṇa* *sambhuta*
 1 *pih* *padchadha* *smṛtaḥ* || See Dr. Hirananda Sastri's Presidential Address
 6th Oriental Conference 1930 Archaeological Section

Fig 108 of Pl XXIII, Fig 51 of Pl XXII, and Fig 92 of Pl XXIII, respectively.

PART I. THE MUDRĀS (SYMBOLS) DESCRIBED IN THE SANSKRIT TEXTS OF THE MĀHĪYĀNA PERIOD RECONCILABLE WITH THE SIMPLE SYMBOLS ON THE EARLY SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

It is a curious fact, that in the Sanskrit texts of the periods of ŚĀṆKARA and earlier, such as *NDISINĤATĀPAṆI UPAṆIᤀAT* and *KĀLIVILĀSA TANTRA*, mentions are made of *Mantra Bija* symbols (a sort of *Mudrā Lipi*) which if depicted in black and white according to the descriptions given in the texts, resemble in form the symbols found on the early silver punch marked coins of ancient Hindu India. A large number of such *Mudrās*, as well as ornamental and artistic combinations of the very *Mudrās* (Mysterious Symbols) can be reconciled with the symbols seen on the reverse side of the said coins.

Another noticeable and startling feature about the coin symbols is their resemblance to the Mohenjodaro pictographs, three dozen of them, appear exactly similar to the figures, and the pictographs seen on the seals or matrices found in the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus valley, whose age has been estimated between 3000 and 3500 B.C. (See Pls XXVIII and XXIX.)

An early image of ŚIVA (see Pl XXX) with three heads, sitting squat on a Chauki or four footed low stool, in Yogāsana with his arms stretched and palms resting on knees, head adored with a big *Jatā* and a pair of horns (probably of a buffalo), sitting naked, with a girdle round his waist, and some sort of covering on his breast and arms surrounded by four big animals, an elephant, a rhinoceros, a buffalo all standing facing towards the image, and a tiger springing towards it, as well as a pair of deer, one of which is clearly seen below the Chauki is noteworthy. The image is found befitting some of the different titles or poetical names given to ŚIVA come down in Sanskrit texts of later dates. The sitting posture of Yogāsana reminds us of his title of *Yogiraja* the three faces in the image brings the idea of *Trisūtras* a special triad aspect of ŚIVA. The idea of *Jatadhariṇ* and *Śringin* is also there, from the peculiar hair tuft and horns the two forming the shape of a *Trisūla* a trident. The huge animals shown around the image, convey the idea of *Paśupati*, the lord of animals, another title of ŚIVA. This finding of a very early image of ŚIVA, along with other figures such as the *SVASTIKA* and a cross shaped *VEDI* or *KUNDA* which are well known to every Hindu, as shown on Pl XXX, Nos 502, 512, 513, and 528 after over 5000 years is one of the wonders of the modern archæological discoveries in India. What wonder if a large number of symbols found

on the early punch-marked coins of ancient Hindu India which might have been most probably better known in the early Medieval period to the author of the *Nṛsiṃhatāpani Upaniṣat* (commented by Śaṅkarācārya), the *Kāhvilāsa Tantra* and the like texts, were adopted for their particular purpose are found described in the Sanskrit texts. Of course it is difficult in the present circumstance to say with certainty about the actual sense in which the symbols were used by the early Hindus of Bhāratavarṣa. In other words it is recapitulated that some present-day tradition may be unimaginably ancient, as has been proved by the discovery of the Śiva plaque at Mohenjodaro. There should be no wonder if some of the symbols on the punch-marked coins should prove to be pre-historic in origin. And when they are described in the *Nṛsiṃhatāpani Upaniṣat* and other later books by special names, it is possible that those names are ancient, for example the word *Śaṅkara-śakra* (शङ्कराक्ष), at the same time it is also likely that those names and mystic meanings were given to them later. But in the absence of other earlier data, we are bound to take note of the technical names to be found in these later works, as both the above-mentioned facts cannot be easily ignored.

The author has attempted to describe in this thesis what he found about the similarity of coin symbols to the pictographs of the Mohenjodaro seals as well as about the similarity of *Mudrās*,² the mysterious symbols described in the books of the medieval period which if drawn on paper resemble a large number of symbols seen on the early coins, and also pointed out the combination of such symbols, which he has collected and copied directly from the coins as illustrated on Pls XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.

The symbols shown in Figs 1 to 11 on Pl XXII, and Figs 202 and 203 on Pl XXIV, are all different variations of the one and the same symbol formed by a small curve, a crescent put over a dot joined together. It is one of the most conspicuously common figures found on the obverse and reverse sides of the early coins, and only on the reverse of the middle and later period coins and is also seen as a component part of other complex symbols most commonly found on the obverse of the later period coins. Theobald (Figs 107, 128, 135, and 188) in his article recognized it as a Taurine symbol of the zodiacal sign of Taurus, he further described it from the Indian point of view, to be composed of the figure of the moon joined with the figure of the sun (*J A S B*, Vol LIX, 1890, pages 199-246). But it looks like the Brāhmī letter *ṃ* (M).

¹ The author is indebted to Dr Pran Nath of the Benares Hindu University, who gave some quotations from these Tantric texts, which have been referred to in this article.

² In Sanskrit the word *Mudrā* also means mystery hence *Mudrā* *Lipi* is a mysterious writing or symbol not intelligible to every one.

Professor RAPSON has stated that this symbol like Figs 7, 4 and 10 Pl XXI of this article is found punched on silver sigloi of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia of 6th and 7th century B.C. which got their way into India and were punched as a mark of recognition in this country. These silver sigloi were current between the 6th and 7th century B.C. (*J.R.A.S.* 1895 page 865). This implies that this particular symbol was used for punching the coins in the 7th or 6th century B.C.

In the Sanskrit Text of the *Kahvilisa* Tantra edited under the name of ARTHUR AVALON in Vol VI, of the Tantric Text series published by Luzac & Co. London 1917 in the 21th Patala (chapter) the author of the book has described some of the *Bye Mudra* symbols with their Sanskrit names for meditation with Mantras.

Fig 1 Plate XXII is a bigger and bolder form of the above mentioned symbol. It is seen on the obverse side of early coins. See Pl II 3rd figures of the coins 1 and 2 of Lucknow Museum.

Fig 2 is found on the obverse of the Golakhpur Coin No 105, Pl V.

Figs 3 and 4 are the same symbols of smaller size. See *Re* of coins 3 and 5 of Pls I and II, on the *Re* of coins Nos 2 and 5 Pl VI on the *Dypana* Pl VII and on the *Pei* of coins 2 and 4 Pl VIII.

Fig 5 is also the same symbol, and is found on the *Ob* side of coins Nos 70-89 where it is a conspicuous figure amongst the group symbols of twenty coins of the Golakhpur hoard. Mr Walsh has described this as the figure of a bull's head but the figure is oval quite unlike the elongated tapering (hanging) head of a bull. The two prominent ears are not shown although it is surrounded by dots which is known as Bindumandala in Tantrika terminology.

It would not be out of place here to say a few words about the BINDUMANDALA which means a garland of dots. It was not used only as a decoration to the symbols but also according to later Tantra theory as a sign of reverence and counted as a sacred sign and putting it round any symbol was considered blissful which brought blessing as is evident from the *Kahvilisa* Tantra Ch XXV page 62 Ślokas 27, 28 and 29 where the sacredness of Bindumandala is clearly described —

यञ्ज्ञात्वा साधको याति अथर्व बिन्दुमण्डलम् ॥ २७ ॥

मण्डल परम मोक्ष पूर्णानन्दस्वरूपिणीम् ।

परस्य ब्रह्मणः पुत्र तदन्तः गृहमीरितम् ॥ २८ ॥

शब्दरूपमय बिन्दु-मण्डल मातृकाक्षरम् ।

इति ते कथितं पुत्र सर्वबीजस्य निगम ॥

'by knowing the undiminishing Bindumandala the performer attains salvation the eternal peace The wreath of dots (Bindu mandala) the giver of eternal peace O son of Brahmapa I have told you the significance of its sense The Bindumandala is the Sīdha mīya Mātra which is indestructible

It is important to note that as many as 30 other symbols found on the early coins are seen surrounded by the Bindu mandala which can be seen on Pl XXII Figs 5 6 7 8 14 17 23 32 40 48 and 66 Figs 111 113 114 116 118 119 130 and 138 on Pl XXIII Figs 170 172 187 191 194 203 218 224 225 226 and 236 on Pl XXIV It is also noticeable that symbols surrounded by dots are seen only on the early punch marked coins and not on the coins of the later period The author has adopted this name in the absence of any other nomenclature

Fig 6 is the same symbol with Bindumandala but smaller in size It is seen on *Re* of coin No 2 Pl I Fig 4

Fig 7 is also the same with an extra dot within the encircling dot found on coins Nos 3 and 6 Pl II reverse side Figs 1 and 3 respectively

Fig 8 is another modification of the same symbol two of them are seen together with Bindumandala see coin No 2 Pl I 8th Figure

Fig 9 is the same with 3 dots round it see coins 2 and 3 *Re* Pl VI

Fig 10 has 2 dots only see coins 4 and 5 *Re* Pl VI

Fig 11 is the same enclosed in a Mandapa or a shield it is seen on the *Ob* of coins 1 2 3 4 and 5 Pl VI

Fig 12 is an ancient symbol which is also known in the West as the wizard's symbol a pentagram described by Theobald In Sanskrit and in modern times it is known as the PANCHAKONA In the Kalyāṇa Tantra Ch 33 Śloka 13 this Panchakona Mudra is described as an annihilator of sins —

पञ्चकोणात्मक बीजं प्रणवः पापनाशनम् ।

The PANCHAKONA-ATMAKA Bija is the killer of all sins

This symbol is seen on the *Ob* of coin 1 Pl VI

It appears that this symbol was used as an auspicious symbol to annihilate sins and was also known to the people of the medieval period and was adopted also for their Tantric purpose

Fig 13 is the well known Hexagram formed by two equilateral triangles so placed one over the other, that their apexes are opposite to each other. Its Sanskrit name is SHATKONA,¹ and was also considered as a sacred Mudrā (symbol) as is evident from the note quoted below. This symbol is also found amongst the ancient Cretan figures. It is also a conspicuous symbol on the coins of Nepal and Tibet up to this day. It is used to day in many Hindu homes. This symbol is conspicuously seen on the obverse of the early coins of the Lucknow Museum, see coins 3 and 4 Pl I, also on Pl III, coins 11 and 12. Other figures such as Octagram and Decagram are also mentioned in the text as sacred symbols, but the author has not come across them on any silver punch marked coins as yet.

The Octagram (ASHTAKONA) formed by two squares, one placed over the other diagonally, has survived up to the present day, and is well known to the present day Hindu.

Fig 14 is the same SHATKONA, but is surrounded with Bindumandala see coins 4 to 59, Pl IV, 4th Fig.

Fig 15 is similar to the previous figure, but it has a dot (Vahni) in the centre instead of a small circle as its nucleus see coin 105 Pl V, 5th Column.

Fig 16² is a small circle with a dot in its centre (Theobald, Fig 126) resembles a figure or MUDRA, described in the Kālvilasa Tantra, Sloka 34 (Ch XXVI) —

ज्येष्ठा बिन्दुर्गतानित्या सुखिरा चक्षुःप्रभा ।

सुखिरान्तर्गतो बिन्दुर्विन्दुमध्ये च मोहिनी ।

चक्षुर्विद्यात्मिकानित्या परमाबीजमोरितम् ।

'The stable Jyeshthā in the form of a dot, and permanent with beautiful rays resides fixed within the BINDU (zero) and is charming. This is called the PARAMA BIJA MUDRA and is the soul and the deity of Astra Vidya,' the science of arms and warfare. This symbol is very conspicuous and is seen in 7 or 8 variations. It is also found in combination with other symbols, on the coins it is used probably as a symbol to attain victory. In its simplest form it is

¹ Shatkona is also mentioned in the Kālvilasa Tantra, Chap 33, Sloka 13 बटकोष वक्ति बीजस्य दशकोषात्मकं नम ।

² Similar symbol ○ is seen on the palm of the right hand of the early images of Vishnu.

seen on coin No 4 Pl VI as a reverse symbol, also on coin 53 Pl IV and on *Re* of coins 6 and 12 Pls II and III respectively

Fig 17 is the same symbol surrounded by Bindumapdala, see *Re* of coin No 8 Pl II

Fig 18 is another variation of the same here the figure is surrounded by rays (PRADHA) indicated by 8 radial lines (Theobald figs 145 and 146), see coin No 12 *Re* Pl III, 7th fig

Fig 19 is the same figure with 12 rays Pls IV and V, *Ob* of coins 4 to 103 also on *Re* of coin 4, Pl IV

Fig 20 is a smaller form of the same

Fig 21 this symbol consisting of a conspicuous dot within a small circle with 16 radiating rays is one of the most conspicuous symbols seen on the early coins as well as on 99 per cent of later coins

Almost all the previous scholars have described it as the figure of the sun but the author has reasons to disagree with the view held so far. The question arises about the circular dot inside the circle around which the radial lines are drawn to indicate the rays there should be some sense in it. What is the meaning of this double representation? Which of the two the outer circle or the central round and considerably big dot represents the orb of the sun? We have never seen the figure of the sun so drawn anywhere. The simplest way of drawing the figure of the sun is to draw a small circle and add radial lines for rays or it can be done by drawing a small circular dot big enough to show the disc and putting straight lines around it for indicating rays but never in the way as is seen on the coins. It can not be said to be the mistake of the artist who executed the engraving of the punch as this type of the figure is seen on a very large number of coins some big and some small but all of the same design. For the said reasons the author is reluctant to take the symbol as the figure of the sun. It rather resembles the symbol described in the Kalvilasa Tantra Ch XXVIII Śloka 19 and 20 —

विन्दुमध्यगतं शून्यं कोटिचन्द्रप्रदीपकम् ।

परं ब्रह्म शून्यरूपं शिवं परमकारणम् ॥ १९ ॥

शिवस्य कारणं विन्दुं ब्रह्माक्षरनिरूपणम् ।

परस्य ब्रह्मणश्चाङ्गं पञ्चाशन्मातृकाक्षरम् ॥ २० ॥

It is clear from the above Slokas, that Bindu, zero or cipher represents *Siva* and *Śūnya* the dot represents the *Para Brahma* the supreme being. One is put inside the other, thus forming a figure resembling the symbol seen on the coins, and the adjective '*KOTICHANDRA PRADIPAKAM*' is depicted by putting rays round it, making a complete figure like that of the sun. Figs 206, 207, and 208, Pl XXIV, look like the actual figures of the sun, in Fig 206 there is a single small circle, without any dot in it, and the Figs 207 and 208 have big dots with rays, with no extra circle round them they can be safely counted as the symbol representing the *Sūrya*.

Fig 22 is just like the above mentioned symbol but it has 6 thicker lines for its rays see Pl V, *Re* of coin 89, and Pl IV, *Re* of 43.

Fig 23 seems to be another variation of the same, having only 4 rays, and is surrounded by a *Bindumandala*, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 12 14th Fig.

Fig 24 is another variation of the same, it has 16 curved rays all bent to right side see Pl VII, coin 1 *Re* Fig 12.

Fig 25 has only 8 curved rays see Pl V *Re* of coin 70, and Pl III *Re* of 10, 6th Fig.

Fig 26 is a simple representation of the crescent. Theobald Fig 127, has described it as the symbol of *Isthar* the celestial mother. But in the *Kalvilasa Tantra* Ch XXVI, Sloka 36 there is a description of a *Bija Mudra* which if drawn resembles a crescent symbol and is named *Voluni Bija Mudra* —

ततस्तु मोहिनी बीजमर्द्धचन्द्रं ततः परम् ।

It may be noted here that the term *ARDHACHANDRA* signifies a crescent and not a semicircle. The symbol is seen on *Pe* of coin 100 Pl V.

Fig 27 is the same symbol with rays (*PRABHA*) around it see Pl I *Pe* of coin No 2 Fig 10.

THE FOLLOWING TWELVE SYMBOLS ARE COMBINATIONS OF THREE TO NINE CRESCENTS ARTISTICALLY ARRANGED but it cannot be definitely said whether they are symbols of different names or merely the ornamental forms of the symbol of the crescent moon like the *Voluni Bija Mudra*. They are briefly described below —

Fig 28 is the artistic arrangement of 3 crescents placed equiangularly with their convex sides facing each other, see Pl II *Pe* of coin 5 Fig 4.

Fig 29 is the same but smaller in size but it has a smaller

circle in the middle with 3 dots between their cusps see coin 28, Pl IV (extra figure)

- Fig 30 is another combination of 3 crescents placed in three compartments formed by 3 right lines joined together at an angle of 120 degrees to each other see Pl I, *Re* of coin 2 and Pl III, coin 9, Fig 1
- Fig 31 is the combination of 4 crescents, placed round a small central circle, and 1 dot between their cusps, see Pl VIII, *Re* of coin, No 4, Fig 2
- Fig 32 is a modification of the previous symbol, there is a dot in the centre instead of a small circle, surrounded by a Bindumandala, see Pl I *Re* of coin 2, Fig 7
- Fig 33 is another artistic combination of 4 crescents so placed round a central dot as to produce a floral design, see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 4
- Fig 34 appears to be a combination of 4 crescents placed round a small circle and joined to it with 4 lines the convex sides being towards the circle see Pl III, *Ob* of coins 11 and 12
- Fig 35 is a modified form of the previous symbol the 4 crescents have their concave sides turned towards the central circle see Pls I and II *Ob* of coins 1 to 10
- Fig 36 is a combination of 5 crescents placed round a dot with their cusps facing outwards see Pl III *Re* of coin 10 Fig 5
- Fig 37 is another peculiar combination of 6 crescents, of which 3 are bigger placed round a central dot and the smaller 3 crescents are placed one in the arm of each bigger one see Pl I coin 1 *Ob* 4th Fig
- Fig 38 is a complex combination of as many as 9 crescents three of them are bigger and placed symmetrically like the Fig 28 with their cusps facing outwards the remaining 6 crescents have their cusps all facing inwards placed one each over the 6 cusps of the 3 bigger ones forming a beautiful and ornamental design nowhere seen now a days see Pl VIII *Ob* of coin 1
- Fig 39 this symbol consists of a crescent with a dot placed in the arm of it is clearly the well known CHANDRA BINDU in the Sanskrit script It is a representation of the beautiful celestial phenomenon the conjunction of the planet VENUS with the MOON when it is seen as a crescent a few days before the new moon in the early morning It is clearly seen after the rainy season Another symbol Mudrā, described in the Kalvilasa Tantra Ch XXIV, Sloka 28 resembles the figure —

The term CHANDRABINDU in the above Śloka indicates a crescent and a dot placed together and is termed the 'Mayā bija' symbol see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 4 This symbol is not illustrated by Theobald

- Fig 40 is the combination of 2 crescents and 2 dots, placed back to back and 2 other dots between their cusps (Theobald Fig 218, but without dots), see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 2
- Fig 41 is the combination of 3 CHANDRA BINDUS, see Pl VI, *Re* of coin 5
- Fig 42 is a variation of the symbol, the crescents are placed round a dot with 2 dots in the arms of each crescent see Pl V, coin No 98
- Fig 43 is a combination of 4 crescents with dots, round a central dot, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 9, *Re* of coin 4, Pl VI and on the Dripāna, Pl VII 7th Fig
- Fig 44 is a similar combination of 5 Chandra Bindus, placed round a small circle see Pl I, *Ob* of coins 2, 3 and 4 and Pl II *Ob* of coin 5 3rd Fig
- Fig 45 is a variation of the above it is surrounded by a Bindumandala There is a dot instead of a circle in the middle see Pl III *Re* of No 11, 5th Fig
- Fig 46 is a symbol composed of a crescent with 3 dots, within its arm 2 above and the 3rd below see Pl III *Re* of coins 10 and 11 and Pl IV *Ob* of coin 58
- Fig 47 is a smaller size of the same
- Fig 48 is the same symbol as above but has a Bindu mandala round it see Pl III *Re* of coin 12, and Pl V *Ob* of coin 19
- Fig 49 is a variation of the same symbol it has a line between the 2 upper dots see Pl I *Re* of coin 4
- Fig 50 is another variation of the above-described symbol It has 3 extra dots above the figure see Pl V *Ob* of coin 90 4th Fig
- Fig 51 is a square with 4 compartments a CHATURSKONA is described in the Kalvilasa Tantra, Ch XXVI, Ślohas 29 and 31

ऊर्द्धरेखादये पुत्र चतुष्कोणे मन स्थिति ॥ २६ ॥

चतुष्कोणात्मके चैव व्यात्मन स्थितिर्निर्णय ।

अधोभागे चतुष्कोणे परमात्मा वसेद्भवम् ॥ २७ ॥

दक्षभागे चतुष्कोणे निवासश्चान्तरात्मन ।

अधोभागे चतुष्कोणे ज्ञानात्मापि वसेद्भवम् ॥ २८ ॥

It says 'O, my son, fix your mind on the two vertical lines of the square which are shining like lightning, they are the giver of salvation. It has been ascertained that the soul exists in the square, as the Supreme being Himself resides in the lower part of the square; the Antar-Ātman, the inner soul, resides in the right part of the square, the Jñānātman, the conscience, resides in the lower part.'

The author of the text here describes the form of a square for meditation, and mentions the right, the left, as well as the upper and the lower parts of the square, thus dividing the square into four parts. And if the drawing of the square be made as mentioned part by part, a square of 4 compartments would be formed exactly similar to the symbol referred to, see Pl IV, *Re*, of coin 4; Pl V, *Ob* of coin 102; and Pl VII, coin 1. Theobald has described this figure as a combination of a cross in a square (Fig 126). This symbol is also found on the Mohenjodaro seals, see Pl XXVIII, 1st figure of the 1st column.

Fig 52 is a smaller form of Fig 51

Fig 53, may be taken as a variation of the above symbol, there are 4 separate smaller squares so placed together as to form a bigger square of 4 compartments, see Pl IV, *Re* of coin 26

Fig 54 is a smaller square with an ellipse put inside it, the square represents the abode of a deity, and probably the whole figure may designate Śiva, see Pl II, *Ob* of coin 5, 4th Fig

Fig 55 is an equilateral triangle the TRIKONA-KUNDALI as described in the Kālirāsa Tantra, Ch XXII, Slokas 33-34 and 35 the 3 sides of which represent Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra resembles the figure —

.त्रिकोण कुण्डलीमात्रा नित्या यौ प्रकृतिः परा ॥ ३३ ॥

..वामरेखा भवेद् ब्रह्मा तरुणाक्षिसमन्विता ॥ ३४ ॥

दक्षरेखा विष्णुरूपा शरच्चन्द्रशतप्रभा ॥

अधोरेखा रुद्ररूपा दलितान्नसन्निभा ॥ ३५ ॥

'The 3 sides of the triangle represent Eternity, Victory, and the Supernature. The left side stands for BRAHMĀ with beautiful big eyes, the right side is in the form of VIṢṆU, shining like a 100 autumn moons, the base line represents RUDRA, who is dark and reflecting like collyrium.'

In the Tripura tāpani Upanishad a triangle is called TRIPURA, the city of three Gods, see Pl IV, Ob of coin 39 Pl V, Ob of coin 83, and Pl V, Re of coin 80

- Fig 56 is a variation of the same figure, it is surrounded by rays २५१, see Pl III, Re of coin 11, the 4th figure
 Fig 57 is an equilateral triangle with a dot placed in it, a similar symbol is described as Paramakundali in the Kāhvilāsa, Ch XXII, Sloka 37 त्रिकोणभ्यन्तरो
 न्यो बिन्दु परमकुण्डली

'A dot placed within the empty space of a triangle forms the Paramakundali. It is ascertained that the Bindu dot represents the BRAMHA Theobald has described this symbol (fig 187), he counted the dot as the solar or male energy of nature and the triangle as a female symbol. This figure is also found on old stones of Stonehaven vide S.S.S., Vol I, Pl XLI

- Fig 58 is a variation of the above symbol. It is surrounded with 9 rays see Pl III, Re of coin 10 Fig 11
 Fig 59 is a simple dot and is said to represent the Supreme being the BRAMHA in the simplest form. It is also mentioned in the Kāhvilāsa Tantra Ch XXIV, Sloka 18 — Isvarah susumāsino Bindu bramha prapujyate'

In the Siva Sutra (Indian thought series) by P. T. Ivenger published at Allahabad on page 365 it is said that the Bindu indicates the knowledge of Oneness of the universe down to the physical world

Theobald, Fig 126 has described this symbol as representing the Godhead of the old religion of Assyria and India. He was correct in recognizing this symbol as representing the BRAMHA of the ancient Hindus see Pls VI and VIII Re of coins 2 and 4 respectively and Pl IV Re of coin No. 53

- Fig 60 consists of two dots the Visarga indicates the simultaneous inner and outer manifestation of the universe vide Siva Sutra page 365 see Pl III Re of coin 9 and Pl IV Re of coin 39
 Fig 61 consists of 3 dots so placed pyramidally that each one is adjacent to the other. A similar symbol is also described in the Kāhvilāsa Tantra Ch XXVI Slokas 22, 23 and 24 and is termed Rīmālīya Mudrā for meditation of 3 deities Rāmā Jayantī and Rātri consorts of Vishnu and Rudra and the goddess dyeshitī this symbol is called 'Bundumant' when surrounded by a Bindumandala

अधुना षट्पद्मे हे पुत्र रमाबीजं सुदुर्लभम् ॥ २२ ॥

रमा ज्येष्ठा तथा रौद्री विन्दुत्रय-विनिर्मिता ।

रमा सुसङ्गता ज्येष्ठा रौद्रीज्येष्ठा सुसङ्गता ॥ २३ ॥

भ्रामरी कथ्यते तेन विन्दुमण्डलसङ्गता ।

रमासु सस्थिता ब्रह्मा विष्णु ज्येष्ठा सुसंस्थिता ॥ २४ ॥

In the 'Māyātatra' by Arthur Avalon 1916 edition, on page 16, it is said that the 3 Bindus represent the Śiva aspect and the Śakti aspect of the one consciousness Theobald (Figs 153, 267, and 268) described this as a symbol of natural worship, and thought it for the male triad of Hindu religion. This symbol is also found on the terra cotta whorls found at Troy, *vide J A S B* 1891, page 207. For the figure, see Pl X, *Re* of coin 17.

Fig 62 is a variation of the above symbol, it is represented by three small circles instead of 3 dots (as a Bindu can be depicted by a dot or small circular zero), see Pl IV *Re* of coin 39.

Fig 63 is another variation of the same, with 3 small dots placed between each other see Pl VIII *Re* of coin 4. 4th Fig.

Fig 64 is the same but has a dot between the 3, see Pl VIII, *Re* of No 4, 9th Fig.

Fig 65 is a different variation of the same it has an extra small circle between the 3 and 3 dots between them, see Pl VIII *Re* of coins 2 and 4.

Fig 66 is just as figure 62 but it is surrounded by a Bindumandala it is described in Śloka 24 quoted above as BHAMARI see Pl III, *Re* of coin 7, the 4th figure.

In the 'Māyātatra' by Arthur Avalon Part III, reprinted from Vedanta Kesari on page 16 the author says — The Puruṣa Prakṛti Tatva is a bifurcation in consciousness on the differentiation of the Para Bindu into three Bindus.

Fig 67 there are 3 dots in a triangle. It appears to be the above symbol of 3 dots placed inside a triangle, the Trikoṇa kundali described before see Pl V, *Ob* of 90 the 5th figure.

Fig 68 is the same symbol enclosed in a tetragon, see Pl IV *Ob* of 39, 5th Fig.

Fig 69 is a group of four dots arranged in a square form, see Pl XIX *Re* of coin 109. Theobald (Fig 171) has described it as 4 balls.

Fig 70, in this symbol the 4 dots are placed in a square of four compartments, see Pl II, *Re* of coin 6, and Pl V, *Ob* of 101

Theobald (Figs 111 and 163) has described this figure to be a very ancient symbol found also on terra cotta whorls at Troy. He thought it to represent the Assyrian four fold conception of Deity and the Hindu three fold doctrine of divinity. This symbol is also found on the seals excavated at Mohenjodaro, see Pl XXVIII, second figures of the first and second columns (CCCI, seal 444)

Fig 71 is a group of 5 dots, one in the middle and 4 around it arranged in a square form. The figure of Pañcha-Śūnya, called the Grāmanī Bija Mudrā of the Kālvilāsa Tantra, Ch XXVI, Slokas 32 and 33 resembles it —

एकादशेन्द्रियाणाञ्च पञ्च शून्येषु सस्थिति ।

पञ्चशून्ये च भूताना स्थितिश्चैव न संशयः ॥ ३२ ॥

इति ते ग्रामणी बीजं रज सत्त्वतमात्मकम् ।

कथितं क्षणा हे पुत्र सारणान्मोक्षदं भवेत् ॥ ३३ ॥

‘The eleven Indrias are residing in the 5 dots, the 5 elements, and the 3 Gunas, Rajas, Sata, and Tamas, are represented by the 5 dots, which is called the Grāmanī Bija Mudrā. O dear son of Krishna by meditating on which Moksha is attained,’ see Pl V, *Re* of coin 100

Fig 72 is the same symbol enclosed in a square, see Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 43, and Pl V, *Ob* of coin 101, 5th Fig

Fig 73 is the same figure but smaller in size, see Pl IV, *Re* of coin 19

Figs 74 and 75 seem to be variations of the same symbol; the dots are separated by 4 lines, see Pl I, *Re* of coins 3 and 4, and Pl III, *Re* of coin No 10, 2nd Fig

Fig 76 is another variation of the above figure; the 4 dots are separated by double lines, the 5th dot being in the middle, see Pl V, *Ob* of coin 88, 5th Fig

Fig 77 is a group of dots, round a central one, it seems to be a Chakra of 5 points, see Pl VIII, *Re* of coin 4, 3rd Fig

Fig 78 is a variation of the figure, it has 5 small circles instead of dots, see Pl III, *Re* of coin 9

Figs 79 and 80 of Pl XXII, and Figs 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, and 89 of Pl XXIII, though

somewhat different in appearance, seem to be variations of one and the same figure, a Chakra of 6 points. There is a description of CHAKRAS in the NARASIMHA TĪPANI UPANISHAD (edited by Jivānanda Vidyāśaṅkar Bhattacharya, B.A., Calcutta, Narayan Press) on page 83, under the heading SADARACHAKRA DARŚANAM —

सर्वकामिकं मोक्षद्वारं यद्योगिन उपदिशन्ति ।

सद्योवाच प्रजापतिः यद्वरं वा एतत्

सुदर्शनं महाचक्रं तस्मात् यद्वरं भवति यदुपन्नं भवति यद्वा ऋतवः
ऋतुभिः संमितं भवति, मध्ये नाभिर्भवति, नाभ्यां वा एते व्यराः प्रतिष्ठिता
भवन्ति.....

Chakras of 6 spokes, or 'Patras' leaves, with a nucleus are clearly described. If figures be drawn, according to the description of 6 spokes or straight lines round a point Nābhi or of 6 leaves, spoon shaped, round, or curved lines like leaves, they will resemble the symbols noted above.

It is evident that these 6 pointed Chakras and the like were counted auspicious in the early days of Hindu India like the well known Svastika symbol which has survived up to this day after over 5,000 years. That the SADARACHAKRA was the predecessor of the Sudarsana Chakra in the medieval period is evident from the above quotation.

Similar Chakras of 3 spokes 8 spokes ANTARA-CHAKRA 12 spokes DIADAŚARACHAKRA, 16 spokes SHODAŚARACHAKRA are also described in the above-mentioned text on pages 85 and 86, which all resemble the symbols found on the punch marked coins, described further on.

Fig. 79 is a combination of 6 dots round a central one, see Pl II, *Re* of No 3 and Pl III, *Re* of No 9.

Fig. 80 is another form of the same, it has 6 small circles round a nucleus a dot see Pl III, *Re* of No 12, 6th Fig. Theobald (Fig 153) described it as a planetary symbol of 7 dots.

Fig. 81 is a figure composed of 6 concentric radial right lines with dots at their ends, see Pl IV, *Re* of No 19.

Fig. 82 is another similar figure like a 6 pointed star, see Pl V, *Ob* of No 86. Prof RAPSON found such a symbol punched on Silver Sigloi of the ACHAEMENID

dynasty of Persia, 6th century B C (*J.A.S.B.*, 1895, page 865)

- Fig 83 is another form of the same with a small circle as its nucleus, see Pl IV, *Re* of No 19
- Fig 84 is a similar arrangement of 6 curved lines or grass like curved leaves to form the figure of a ŚADARACHAKRA see *Re* of coins 7 and 8, Pl II, and *Re* of Nos 9 and 10, Pl III, the 6th and 9th Figs respectively
- Fig 85 is a flower like bold design of 6 points resembling a Śadarachakra of 6 leaves or petals see Pl IV, *Ob* of coin 28 5th Fig
- Fig 86 is the same figure as above but of a smaller size see *Re* of No 10, Pl III 12th Fig
- Fig 87 is the same with a dot as its Nabhi or nucleus, see Pl IV, No 53 *Re*
- Fig 88 represents a double wheel of 6 spokes having 2 runs one within the other, this figure also comes under the Śadarachakra see Pl V, *Re* of Nos 86 and 100 and *Ob* of Nos 101 and 102, 3rd Fig
- Fig 89 is a special type of Chakra formed of 3 different elements, the central part is a small circle with a dot resembling Fig 34 described previously, round which are placed 3 Bindus or zeros probably the Bakakari, annular figure representing the mother goddess described before and 3 arrow heads alternately. The arrow is one of the Prāharanas, a weapon held in one of the hands of the mother goddess

The arrow with a small handle on such symbols is described by previous scholars as an umbrella, but the umbrella of early days had a different shape as can be seen from the sculptures of Asokan period. That it is really an arrow can be seen from the Fig 106 Pl XVIII and Fig 113, Pl XVII where the symbol of a bow and an arrow is clearly seen the arrow head is exactly similar to the above figure a broad barbed arrow. On some coins it looks like a rounded leaf owing to the flattening of the coin symbol, but on 99 per cent of the coins it is somewhat like the shape of an umbrella of modern times. This symbol is a prominent figure on all the Golakhpur hoard coins which are of an early period. This symbol has not been seen on the other types of early period coins. It is seen first on the Golakhpur coins. This symbol becomes a conspicuous symbol on other broad thin coins as well as the smaller thicker coins of finer execution of the later periods, tentatively here called the middle and

the *later periods* on reasonable grounds. This type of Chalra and other variations about 32 of which have been noted and illustrated by the author up to this time (see Pls. XXVI and XXVII) are found on 99 per cent of the Silver punch marked coins, as will be seen from Pls. IX to XX the second figure of the group of symbols in the third column throughout. Another noticeable feature of this symbol is that it is always seen with the so called the Sun symbol and never alone.

Fig. 92 is similar to the above with a central dot instead of a circle see Pl. II *Re* of coin 5, Pl. III *Re* of 10 and on the Dvapina Pl. VII 5th Fig.

Fig. 93¹ is a wheel of 8 spokes with its rim and the hub. Theobald (Fig. 140) described it as a solar symbol. But it can be taken as an Ashtara chakra like the Sudarana chakra the discus of Vishnu. See Pl. VI *Re* of 4,¹ 3rd Fig.

Fig. 94 resembles the Ashtara chakra with its Nabhi but without a rim see Pl. V *Pe* of 90 and Pl. VII on the *Ob* of Dvapina 3rd Fig.

Fig. 95 is the same as Fig. 94 the 8 radial lines are all concentric. Theobald (Fig. 144) described it as an eight pointed star but stars are never shown with such big radial rays as the figure. It also resembles the Ashtara chakra see Pl. IV *Re* of 39 and *Ob* of 36 4th Fig. and Pl. I *Re* of coin 1 2nd Fig.

Fig. 96 is a smaller figure like the previous one see Pl. IV as an extra figure of coin 28.

Fig. 97 is a figure formed of 8 curved concentric lines like blades of grass all turned in the same direction. It may also be taken as a variation of an Ashtara chakra of 8 leaves see Pl. IV *Re* of coin 53.

Fig. 98 seems to be another variation of the Ashtara chakra of the lotus flower pattern described as Ashtapatra chakram. See Pl. III *Re* of coin 10 11th Fig.

Fig. 99 has 9 radial lines but it is doubtful whether the number is 8 or 9 see Pl. VII and Pl. V *Re* of coin 90.

Fig. 100 has 12 right lines radiating from a central point or Nabhi not touching it in the Narasimha Tipani Upanishad there is a description of DVADASHARA CHAKRA a figure of 12 radial lines if drawn in black and white resembles this symbol —N. T. U. page 86
अथ द्वादशार द्वादशपत्र चक्र भवति अथ द्वादशार
योडशपत्र चक्र भवति, see Pl. I *Re* of coin 3 Pl. IV,
Ob of 30 as an extra figure.

¹ A similar symbol is found on Mohenjodaro Seals, see Pl. XXVIII, second figure of column 3.

Fig 101 is the same as the previous figure but the lines are all emanating from a central point, see Pl I, *Re* of coin 3, and Pl I, *Re* of 3, 5th Fig

Fig 102 is the same figure but smaller in size

Fig 103 has 16 radial lines emanating from a central point, it seems to be the SHODAKARA CHAKRA described before, see Pl V, *Re* of coin 89

Fig 104 is a wheel of four spokes without a hub another variation of a Chakra See Pl V, *Re* of coin No 100

Fig 105 is the well known symbol, the SVASTIKĀ, an ancient and auspicious symbol of the Hindus, which has survived from very early days, not only in this country but has spread far and wide in the West

At the present day no ceremony of the Hindus is performed without depicting this symbol at the outset. It is used to symbolize the deity Ganapati now a days. This symbol is one of the conspicuous figures on the seals or matrices, excavated from the ruins of Mohenjodaro, as illustrated on Pl XXIX of this article (it is a copy of Seal Nos 514 and 502, Pl CXIV, Vol I, by Sir J Marshall). The survival of this symbol up to the present day after over 5 500 years is really marvellous. It may be noted here that in early days of Mohenjodaro period this symbol was drawn in 2 ways the right turning and left turning but on the coins only the right turned ones are seen as we use in modern times

Fig 106 is the figure of a bow with a broad barbed arrow. In Sanskrit it is known as a Chapa bāṇa, one of the Praharna's weapon held in one of the hands of the goddess Kālā and others. See Pl V, *Ob* of coins 98 and 99

Fig 107 is the figure of a barbed arrow with a small shaft, a sort of broad headed javelin another PRAHARNA. Its Sanskrit name is Sakti. See Pl XXIII 107, and Pl VI *Re* of coin No 2 the figure of a pair of javelin is found on the obverse of 25 early coins in the Cabinet of the author see supplement Pl XXXI

Fig 108 is a peculiar figure resembling an arrow of 5 forks. Is it the PASCHABANA or KANDARPA BANA of Kama deva the Indian Cupid who has five names KAMA, MANAMATHA KANDARPA MINAKETU and MAKARADHVAJA ?

For the symbol see Pl IV *Ob* of coin 44. Wonder fully enough this symbol is also seen on several Mohenjodaro seals see Pl XXVIII 4th and 5th figures

Fig 109 is another figure with 5 forks, like a double Trisula

or Pañcha Sūla, it also fits the description of a Pañcha Bana, see Pl IV, coin 39

Figs 110 to 116 Pl XXIII, and 221, 222, Pl XXIV All appear to be different variations of the symbol of eye Theobald (Figs 52, 198, and 199) has described these as emblem of ISTHAR, essentially the VESICA PISCIS of mediæval and Romanic decoration

Langam and Yoni or Phallic worship was the cult of several countries, Romans, Syrians, Egyptians, and Indians in early days But some of the figures have a greater resemblance to eye This symbol is also found in many forms on the seals of Mohenjodaro The early image of Siva along with many stone lingams have lead the scholars to conclude that the people of the Indus Valley civilization were followers of Siva and Śakti cult as early as 5,000 years before See Pl XXVIII for the figure on the seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, Figs 8 9 10, 11, and 12 second column

Fig 110—see Pl I, *Re* of 3

Fig 111 has a cleft in it see coin No 2, *Re* of Pl I

Fig 112—see Pl II coin 5 and Pl IV coin 59, as an extra symbol

Fig 113 is just like the previous figure but surrounded by a Bindumandala See Pl II *Re* of coin No 7

Fig 114 the same symbol with 2 dots within see Pl I, *Re* of coin No 4

Fig 115 the same symbol shown without any opening, see Pl III *Re* of coin No 11

Fig 116 is similar to figure 115 but surrounded by a Bindumandala see *Re* of 2 Pl I

Fig 117 is a variation of the same symbol two are shown side by side enclosed in a Mandapa see Pl V, *Ob* of coin No 59 5th Fig

Fig 118 seems to be the same symbol surrounded by a Bindumandala but there is a small line below it see Pl III coin 12 second figure

Fig 119 looks like the same symbol but it has a line below it giving it the resemblance of a spear see Pl II, *Re* of coin 7 3rd Fig

Fig 120 has been taken to be the Langama the symbol of creation but it is doubtful see Pl V *Ob* of 102

Fig 121 is a conspicuous figure on the Golakpur coins described by Mr Walsh see Pl IV coins 4 to 64, the 3rd symbol of the group

It is difficult to say as to what it represents but it resembles a Ghṛta a neckless earthen pot like those prehistoric earthen pots seen in the museums,

with 6 balls or Pindas. May it not be a Ghaṭa-sthāpana?

Fig 122 is the figure of an Indian bull, standing facing to right its tail is shown with tufts of hair in a peculiar way. There are two dots below its head reminding us of the Mohenjodaro figures of bulls with some appendage in front. The figure of a Nandi is one of the conspicuous symbols found on a large variety of silver punch marked coins of early and later periods. It is always seen with its hump standing, facing left or right as a single figure or with some other symbol. From a Hindu point of view it represents the Vāhana or the vehicle of Śiva. It is also a very common figure like the figure of an elephant on the silver and copper coins of the Indo-Greeks of the 2nd and 1st century B.C., also on the silver and copper coins of the Hindu kings of the same period and later. The gold and copper coins of the great and later Kushans bear the figure of Śiva with Nandi specially the gold and copper coins of KADPHISES, HUVISHKA, VIŚVASEYA, and the later Kushans are well known for this Śiva and Nandi symbol. Later on the tyrant Mihirakula, the Huna king who came in the 6th century, adopted the symbol of a bull on his copper coins as well as on his banner which is evident from the legend JAYATU VRIŠHAṆ of his coins. Even as late as the 20th century we find the image of a bull on the copper coins of Indore. The figure of a bull also represents the symbol of Dharma or Truth.

It is a curious fact to note here that not a single figure of the cow is seen on the punch marked coins. The author looked for them very particularly but could not find any figure of a cow on over 4,000 punch marked coins, of half a dozen different types which he had to examine though the Kama Dhenu was known from very early days. See Pl I, coin No 4, 4th Fig.

Figs 123, 124, 125 and 126 of Pl XXIII are all the figures of Nandi with some variations standing facing either ways, which are seen on different coins. Pls I, II, III, IV, V, and XXXI, as reverse symbols.

Fig 127 is described by Mr Walsh to be a tiger, it is seen on several coins of Golakhpur hoard, but it seems to be a lion having a thick neck indicating its mane. It probably represents a SIMHA, the Vahana of the mother goddess Durgā. See Pl V, Ob of coins 70 to 89, 4th Fig.

Figs 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, and 133 are elephants standing facing to right or left, with long curved tusks bent upwards, their heads are proportionately big and put much above their bodies, with a sunk dot to indicate their eyes, their trunk, legs, and tail are all depicted by thick lines. From the Hindu point of view it seems to be the Airāvata of the vedic god INDRA, which is his Vāhana and considered sacred. The figure of elephant is also seen on the Mohenjodaro seals (Pl XXIX). For the symbols on coins, see Pl VI, Ob 4th Figs, and Pl IV, Ob Nos 4, 9^s, 99, and 100.

Figs 134 and 135 are doubtful, though they look like some animal, it cannot be said with any certainty whether they represent a dog or a rat or some other animal. See Pl VIII, Re of coin 3, and Pl I, Re of coin 4.

Figs 136 and 137 are different kinds of fishes. The symbol has its place also in Hindu mythology and is considered sacred. This is also seen on Mohenjodaro seals, vide Pl XXIX, for coins see Pl VIII Re of Nos 1, 2, and 4 2nd Figs.

Fig 138 is the figure of a peacock the Vahana of Kārtikeya. See Pl II, Re of coin 8. It is a favourite symbol on later coins.

Fig 139 seems to be a figure of a cock the favourite pet of goddess Kālīkā. See Pl III coin 9. It is an emblem on the copper coins of the Ajodhya Śungas.

Figs 140 to 243 illustrated on Pls XXIII and XXIV are difficult to identify with any certainty, and are left unexplained though some of them are conspicuously seen on the coins specially figures 161 165 167 200 and 230. Figures 161 and 162 are described by Theobald (Fig 130) to be a very ancient symbol. It also occurs on the ancient stones of Scotland. The author has seen similar symbols on the ancient coins of LYCIA of about 450 B C.

It is observed from the study of 243 symbols found on the early coins of four different types that only 76 of them are found on the obverse side of the coins which are all marked with an asterisk on Pls XXII XXIII and XXIV, the remaining 167 symbols are found on the reverse sides of the coins. Another peculiar noticeable feature of early coins is their having smaller simple symbols on their reverse sides from one to fourteen. That is not the case with the later coins, which generally bear from one to four or six symbols to the utmost, while on the obverse of the early coins there are four symbols generally, the later coins have always five, except in a few cases where by mistake

a reverse symbol of smaller size is punched on the obverse instead of the reverse side

PART II So far 184 symbols have been traced out from the coins of the *middle and later periods*, which are seen punched on their obverse side, vide Pls XXVI, XXVII, and XXXII. A dozen and a quarter of them are undoubtedly duplicates of different symbols with some variation, and thus about 169 different symbols could be counted out of the total of 184, illustrated on the above three plates. One hundred and seventy eight symbols have been traced out from the reverse side of the coins of the said 2 periods. These figures are very small in size and most difficult to decipher, being punched lightly on coins without heating them, and hence the symbols are not deeply marked, and get easily worn or flattened by long use. They are illustrated on Pl. XXV, out of these only 75 are different and are not illustrated on the other Pls XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXVII, and XXXII. The remaining 103 symbols are exactly similar to those described in the first chapter the only difference is their smaller size. In all 244 (169+75) symbols are quite different from those found on the *early coins*, and need explanation, which the author has attempted in this second part from the Hindu point of view of early days. As stated elsewhere the symbols punched on the obverse side of the coins of the middle and later periods are mostly of a complex nature. They are formed by the combination of 2 to 4 *different* simple symbols which are found on the obverse and reverse of early coins. A large number of them have been recognized but many still remained unexplained the correct interpretation of which would reveal many new facts of the ancient Hindu culture. Another important fact which has come to light is that though the number of different types of early period silver coins published and unpublished having different sets of groups of symbols does not exceed 55 (so far seen by the author), yet the number of symbols which are seen similar to those figures found on the Mohenjodaro seals is 23 out of the 42 similarities as illustrated on Pl. XXVIII of this essay while the number of Mohenjodaro like seal symbols is less on the middle and later period coins. Notwithstanding the number of different group coins being 154 as illustrated in this thesis the number of similar symbols on these coins is only 13. Thus it is clear that in the author's collection proportionately the early period coins have about six times more Mohenjodaro like symbols in comparison to the later period coins. This fact goes in favour of the tentative differentiation of coins of early and later periods and is another fact to distinguish one from the other, which is also apparent from the fabrication of the coins and the crude and simple forms of the symbols out of which have evolved the more complex and finely executed figures of the later period coins. Sir A. Cunningham has also noted in his *Coins of Ancient*

India that the early coins are of a roundish form generally, and are broader and thinner in fabrication, as will be clear from the illustrations of the coins in this thesis

Fig 1, Pl XXVI has been already described in the first part of this chapter, the Parima Buja Mudrā resembles it. The only noticeable fact is that this symbol is more finely executed and is geometrically circular on the coins of the middle and later periods and is seen on 99 per cent of the coins with one of the Chakras of 6 points as illustrated on Pl XXVI Figs 2 3, 4, 5 6 7, 8 9, 10 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 16 17, 18 19, 20, 21, 23 24 25 26, 27, and 28, and Figs 137, 138, 139, on the supplement Pl XXXII Theobald, Fig 139

Fig 2¹ this symbol also has been described in the first part. On the later coins it is found of a finer and geometrically correct form, as if the punch was engraved with the help of geometrical instrument of precision, and it is always seen with Fig 1 described above. It is a type of SHADARA CHAKRA. It appears first on the coins of the Golakhpur hoard in its crude form, not geometrically correct *vide* the 2nd figure of the 3rd column, Pls IV and V. But it is not seen on any other type of early coins of which the author has seen of three different types over 1,470, and hence the coins of the Golakhpur hoard may be taken as a link between the *early* types and the coins of the *middle* period which are illustrated on Pls IX to XV group figures 1 to 69. Theobald, Fig 100

Fig 2a is the same SHADARA CHAKRA but it has rounded arrow heads. It is sometimes seen on the coins of the same group on which the Fig 2 is found. It should not be counted as a different figure. Theobald, Fig 92

Fig 3 is another type of SHADARA CHAKRA. It has 4 arrow heads Śaktis and only 2 zeros or Balayakāra Bindus, see Pl IX coin 10 and Pl X coin 11, 2nd Fig

Fig 4 is another variation of the above described figure. It is formed by composing 3 arrow heads and 3 shields containing a Brahmi *ma* the so called taurine symbol, arranged alternately round a circle with a dot see Pl X, Ob of coin 14. Theobald Fig 98

¹ A similar symbol was found on a glass seal discovered out of the rubbish filled in between the wooden walls or palisades of ancient Pataliputra of about 5th cent B.C. *J.B.O.R.S.* 1919 33

- Fig 5 is another form of the same it consists of 2 arrows Śaktis 2 Bindus and 2 Ms symmetrically arranged round the same circle with a dot the Parama bija symbol see Pl X Ob of coin 17 [The author has adopted Mr Jayasval's interpretation of this symbol as the letter M of Brahmi script]¹
- Fig 6 is a different variation of the same having 2 arrow heads 2 shields and 2 Ms the so called taurine symbol see Pl X Ob of coin 15
- Fig 7 is a different type of Shadara chakra composed of 6 arrow heads or Śaktis placed equiangularly round the circle with a dot see Pl X Ob of coin 18 2nd lig Theobald Fig 229
- Fig 8 is another form consisting of 2 arrow heads and 4 figures like the heraklic shields round the same circle with a dot see Pl X Ob of coin 19
- Fig 9 is another variety of the Chakra having 42 arrow heads and 4 Ms see Pl X Ob of coin 20
- Fig 10 is a different type of Chakra 3 Śaktis or arrows and 3 small zeros with a dot inside arranged alternately round another small circle with a dot see Pl X Ob of coin 21 2nd Fig
- Fig 11 is a Chakra of a different formation It consists of 3 arrows and 3 small ovals each containing a DAMARU like symbol arranged alternately round a circle with a dot see Pl XI Ob of coins 22 23 24 and 25 also Pl XV 70 2nd Figs
- Fig 12 is another beautiful Shadara chakra composed of 3 arrows and 3 small circles each containing a triscals see Pl XI Ob of coins 26 and 27 2nd Figs
- Fig 13 is another variation of the same Chakra formed by 3 arrows and 3 small wheels of 6 spokes put round a central circle with a big dot in it see Pl XI Ob of coin 28 2nd Fig
- Fig 14 is a peculiar type of the Chakra composed of 2 arrows 2 fishes and 2 Ms see Pls XI and XII coins 29 30 and 31 2nd Figs
- Fig 15 in this figure there are 2 cross like marks in place of Ms see Pl XII Ob of coins 32 to 36 2nd Figs
- Fig 16 in this Chakra there are 3 arrows and 3 objects like Indian lamp see Pl XII Ob of coin 38 2nd Fig
- Fig 17 in this form of the Chakra there are 3 arrows one leaf one lamp like object and another figure not yet identified it resembles a hammer head like

¹ All along in the descriptions the letter M stands for ma of the Brahmi script the so called taurine symbol

curve attached to a rod, see Pls XII and XIII, *Ob.* of coins 39, 40, and 41, 2nd Figs

Fig 18 has a different form, Theobald, Fig 103, it is composed of 2 arrows, 2 leaves and 2 M's, arranged alternately, see Pl XIII, *Ob.* of coin 43, 2nd Fig

Fig 19 has 3 arrows and 3 Ghaṭas, pitchers, or loops with their mouth towards the central circle with a dot, see Pl XIII, *Ob.* of coin 44, 2nd Fig

Fig 20 is a conspicuous Shadara chakra seen on a large number of coins of the *middle* or *pre Mauryan* period. It is formed by 3 arrows and 3 M's enclosed in 3 small oval shaped enclosures, the author thinks that they are 3 M's inside 3 Balyākāra Bindus arranged alternately round the central circle with a dot see Pls XIII, XIV, and XV, *Ob.* of coins 45 to 69, 2nd Fig

Fig 21, is a new type, composed of 3 Arrows and 3 DAMARUS, arranged round the circle with a dot, see Pl XV, *Ob.* of coin 71 (Theobald Fig 102)

Fig 22 is a different curiously formed Chakra composed of 3 arrow heads with shafts one fish one M and one mouse or a puppy like animal arranged round the central circle with the dot see Pl XV *Ob.* of coins 72 to 74 2nd Fig (Theobald Fig 22 incomplete)

Fig 23 is another variety of the Shadara chakra, consisting of 3 arrows one fish with its head towards the circle one M and a small rod or pole see Pl XVI, *Ob.* of coins 75 and 76 2nd Figs

Fig 24 is another notable variety of the Chakra. It has a SVASTIKA one fish one M and 3 arrows arranged round the central circle see Pl XVI *Ob.* of coins 78 79 and 80. It may not be out of place here to mention as some scholars thought that silver punch marked coins do not bear the symbol of a Svastika, but the author has seen half a dozen coins with the symbol of Svastika as a single symbol or in combination with the other symbols as their component part as in this figure 24

Fig 25 has 3 arrows one rod one M and a group of 6 dots round a central one, which has been described by the author as one of the types of the SHADARA CHAKRA see Pl XVI *Ob.* of coin 77 2nd Fig

Fig 26 in this Chakra are arranged 3 arrows two DAMARUS, one M see Pl XVI *Ob.* of coins 81 and 82, 2nd Fig

Fig 27 has 3 arrows and 3 Mandapas¹ with a dot in each, all arranged round the central circle, the dot enclosed in the shield has been recognized by the Tantra

¹ The figure resembles the modern heraldic shield

words, only 9 types of such coins could be found in 2,000 coins

Figs 29, 29a, 30, 30a are elephant figures, already described in the 1st part from the Indian point of view, they represent the sacred Vāhana of the Vedic god Indra. In figure 29a is seen a *Ma* back, and in figure 30 a crab like animal is seen below the elephant. This figure is seen on a large number of coins of the middle and later periods see Pls IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XX, and XXI, for the figure of elephants (Theobald, Fig 10)

Fig 31 seems to be a peculiar figure resembling an elephant, see Pl XII, coins 39 and 40

Figs 32, 32a, 32b, 32c, and 32d (Theobald, Figs 16, 17, and 18) are all different variations of the figure of a Nandi, bull, already described in the previous part. Here again it will be noticed that some of the figures have either a *Ma* or a fish placed on the back or in front of it, reminding us of the bull symbols seen on the Mohenjodaro seals with a sort of an appendage placed in front of the bulls, which has been taken as an incense burner. This figure of a bull is also a conspicuous symbol seen on the coins of the middle and later periods, see Pls IX, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XIX, and XX for the figure of the Nandi the revered Vāhana of Śiva

Fig 32e is a special form of the bull it is seen standing on a hill of 5 arches, from the Hindu point of view it most probably represents the Nandi standing on the Kailāsa mountain see Pl XIII, coins 45, 46, and 47

Fig 33 is another symbol of the same design, there is a jumping dog with its curled up tail on a hill, of 5 arches probably it represents the Vāhana of Bhairava aspect of Śiva or it may be the dog of Yama. It is a conspicuous symbol on coins 53 to 69, Pls XIV and XV, 3rd Figs (Theobald, Fig 49)

Fig 34 represents a tree of 5 lanceolate shaped leaves growing from the top of a 5 arched hill the shape of the leaves resemble so much the Pātālī tree (as pointed out by Mr Jayaswal to me) that one is tempted to take the symbol of the Pātālī after which the city of Pātālīputra was named, see Pls XI and XII Ob of coins 29 to 34, 4th Figs. (Theobald Fig 52 inaccurately drawn)

Fig 35 is a doubtful figure, being incomplete, a hill of 5 arches with a crescent like figure at the top, see Pl XII coin 38, 5th Fig

Fig 36 is a similar symbol of a hill of 5 arches with a peacock perched on it, the Mayūra (peacock) is the

Vāhana of Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva. The Vāhanas of different deities were revered in ancient days as they are up to this day, or the symbol may represent the Mauryan dynasty as pointed out by Mr Carlleyle¹. A peacock engraved on the stone pillar of Asoka at Lauria Nandangarh 2 feet below the ground surface was seen, which he took to be the stamp or royal mark of Asoka. This symbol is seen on the obverse of coins of the Mauryan period and on the reverse side as well on a large number of coins, discovered in the Patna district, which are in the Museum there, see Pl XVIII, 105 to 107, 4th Figs., as well as *Re* of coins 100 and 101 (Theobald, Fig 50).

Fig 37 is a similar hill representation of 5 arches having a round dot probably representing the full moon (or a symbol, which in Tantra depicts the supreme being the Parabramha, represented by a dot) surrounded by 4 M's with their cusps turned outwards. What does this symbol actually represent remains an enigma at present see Pl XI, *Ob* of coin 28, 3rd Fig.

Fig 38 is another hill figure of 5 arches. It has the figure of a Parama Bija Mudrā like symbol with 4 M's placed two and two on each side with their heads towards each other. It could be taken as the figure of the rising sun above the hill but the puzzle is to explain the presence of M's, see Pl XI *Ob* of coin 27, 3rd Fig.

Fig 39 is another variation of the hill figure of 5 arches, there is a long central arch like a gate, and there are 4 arches one above the other on each side of it, with a bigger M surrounded by 4 others see Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 3, 5th Fig.

Fig 40 is the representation of a hill of 6 arches arranged in a pyramidal form each containing a Damaru. Cunningham thought this symbol of Damaru to be the Indian lamp, but it looks more like the Damaru than the lamp see Pl XVI *Ob* of coins 81 and 82, 3rd Fig. (Theobald Fig 48).

Figs 41, 41a, 41b are different variations of a simple 6 arched hill. Fig 41 has a crescent on its top. Fig 41a has more elongated arches, see Pls XVII, coin 86, 4th Fig., Pl XXI, *Ob* of coins 137 and 138, 1st Figs., and Pl IX, coin 3 4th Fig. (Theobald Fig 47).

¹ See Arch. Survey of India Report, 1877-80, by A. C. L. Carlleyle, Vol XXII, p. 47.

Fig 12 indicates some sacred object a 3 arched figure enclosed in a big arch with a Brahma M on its top and 2 fishes in a tank below it see Pl XI Ob of coins 22 to 25, 3rd Figs (Theobald Fig 53 is accurate)

Fig 42a is not seen complete on the coin there is a single bigger arch and 3 Ms and 2 dots placed alternately above it It has probably 2 fishes in a tank below like the previous figure see Pl XXI, Ob of coin 141

Figs 13 and 13a (Theobald Fig 51, without crescent) are variations of the same symbol a figure formed of 3 arches one placed above the other 2 with a crescent on its top Sir A Cunningham and other scholars mistook it to be the figure of a Stupa but Bhagawan Lal Indraji explained it as the figure of a Meru with a crescent on top but the question arises about the 3 arches and the crescent on its top There is no allusion anywhere of the moon with the Meru How to explain the crescent on its top? In the opinion of the author it may represent the abode or temple of the Triad: Brahmā Viṣṇu and Śiva the upper cell with the crescent on top indicates it to be the abode of Śiva As the coins belong to the Hindu period, objects relating to Hindu mythology are expected to be seen in the coin symbols of those days and they should be seen from the ancient Hindu point of view Whatever may be the true interpretation of this symbol from the numismatic point of view, it is an important symbol and is helpful in fixing the period of the coin It was first noticed as such on the Sohgaura copperplate of the Mauryan period, it was also noticed on the base of the sand stone polished pillar of Chandragupta's hall discovered in the village Kumrahar a part of Patna the ancient Pataliputra excavated by Dr Spooner (vide Excavation of Pataliputra A S Report 1912 13 pp 53-83 Pl XLIX by Dr Spooner) It is clear from the above discoveries that the symbol was used for some purpose in the time of Chandragupta and as it is also seen on a large number of punch marked coins found throughout India and one of them, No 128 of Pl XX which was obtained in large numbers from 16 different places viz —Swat Hasan Abdal Peshawar Rawalpindi Taxila Mathura Bhagalpur Teregna (Patna Dist) Kosambi Purneah, Benares and the Deccan the all India find of this particular type of coin lends support to the author's theory to consider it as Chandragupta's

coin This view is further supported by the chemical quantitative analysis of the said coin as the percentage of silver copper and other base metals found in the alloyed silver of the coin tallied very nearly with the description given by Kautilya in his Arthashastra about the proportion of silver copper, and other base metals in Bk II Ch 12 —

“लक्षणाध्यक्ष चतुर्भागतान् रूप्यरूप त्रीक्षत्रपुंसौ सज्जनानामन्यतम
मासवीजयुक्त कारयेत् पञ्चमर्धपण पादमष्टभागमिति” ।

According to this the ingredients of the PANA', the silver punch marked coin of his period were silver 68 75 copper 25 with any of the base metals tin lead iron and galna 6 25 parts in 100 parts of the coin metal while the analysis of the coin indicated silver 68 5 and copper with clear trace of lead and other impurities 31 5 A difference of 25 of silver in 100 parts was found to be less in the coin which can be explained to be due to the impurities in the original silver used for preparing the alloy a cent per cent pure silver could not be expected in those early days as even in modern times of chemical knowledge the purity of the finest silver which is highly assayed is 999 in 1 000 parts of bullion silver For the reasons stated above the particular coin is considered to be of the Maurya King Chandra gupta It may also be pointed out here that the belief of some of the early scholars that in ancient days of India coins were not manufactured by the kings but were minted by guilds or private persons is erroneous which is proved by the writing of Kautilya in his Arthashastra where he says that coins were manufactured for two purposes one for storing in the king's treasury and the other for currency under the supervision of the State officer LAKSHANADHYAKSHA coins were also minted from bullion brought by the people for which manufacturing charges were made and royalties levied

Fig 44 seems to be a different depiction of a hill or it may be the representation of three gates [Tripoliya in Hindi] as stated in my previous thesis see Pl XVII COINS 86 to 92 obverse symbols 3rd Figs (Theobald Fig 59)

Fig 45 is a doubtful symbol it is not very clear on the coin see Pl XIX coin 110 obverse 5th Fig

Fig 46 is undoubtedly the figure of a rhinoceros It appears that the engraver of the punch had committed a mistake in showing its horn in the wrong way it

is bent forward instead of backwards. This symbol was noted by Theobald (Fig 13) but it is curious that he deleted the symbol in his revised list considering it to be his mistake. There are half a dozen coins in the author's cabinet clearly showing the figure of a rhinoceros. Similar coins are in the cabinets of Capt M I C Martin and Mr Sruath Sah of Benares. From the Hindu point of view its hide is considered sacred. Aghri a sort of boat-shaped vessel is made of its hide to give water oblations to the dead Pitris see Pl IX coins 11 to 15. This symbol is also found on several Mohenjodaro seals (see Pl XXIX seal No 14 3rd figure of this essay) Vol I Pl XII Fig 17 of Mohenjodaro excavation report by Sir J Marshall.

Fig 47 (Theobald Fig 19 inaccurately drawn) is a jumping dog facing right with 4 M's around it. This symbol resembles Fig 33 but it is not standing on a hill see Pl IX Ob of coins 7 and 8 also Pl XIII, Ob of coins 41 and 52 3rd Figs.

Fig 48 is a panther like animal following a kid or a dog (Theobald Fig 37). It is at present difficult to say as to what it actually represents see Pl XVII Ob of coins 87 to 91 and Pl XX Ob of coins 104 to 127 4th Figs.

Fig 49 (Theobald Fig 20 partly shown Fig 20 in accurately drawn and Fig 221) is a figure of a deer standing facing to right with a plant in front of it and a Damaru or pitcher like object over its back. Theobald took it as the figure of a goat see Pl XI Ob of coins 72 to 74 4th Figs. This symbol is seen with the figure 22 already described.

Figs 50 and 50a are the figures of a rabbit or a hare enclosed in a frame (Theobald Fig 26). See Pl XV Ob of coin 67 Pl VI Ob of coin 28 and Pl XIII Ob of coin 50 3rd Fig.

Fig 51 (Theobald Fig 24 inaccurately drawn) is another enigmatic symbol not clearly understood. A small dog or a puppy stuck to a pole is shown within a railing. It appears that it alludes to some story or represents a ceremony now forgotten see Pl XIV Ob of coin 114 it is also seen on the reverse of coins 111 113 114 115 and 195.

Fig 52 (Theobald Figs 31 32 and 34) is clearly the figure of a NAQA cobra with its expanded hood. It is also revered as a pet of SIVA or it may represent the Takshaka Naga see Pl XVII coin 91 5th Fig.

Fig 53 (Theobald Fig 45) seems to be a small creeping insect with 10 legs. It is generally seen on the early

coins as well as on the obverse of middle period coins but only on the reverse of the later period coins see Pl XXXI figure 10 of the first line, Pl IX *Ob* of coin 10 5th Fig Pl X *Ob* of coin 16 4th Fig Pl XII *Ob* of coin 36 Pls 16 and 17 *Re* of coins 75 and 92 respectively.

Fig 54 (Theobald Fig 28) is another unexpected symbol of the figure of a frog see Pl XV, *Ob* of coins 68 and 69

Figs 55 55a 56 57 57a 58 59 60 61 61a 62 62a are fishes of different species some of them are single but 56 and 57 are in pairs some shown living in tanks as Fig 57 while in 57 and 57a they are shown in their natural environments in a pond with aquatic plant or a lotus in Fig 58 they are shown in an ornamental design 3 of them are placed at an angle of 120° round a central nucleus in Figs 59 and 60 they are seen 4 in a tank Figs 61 and 61a show 2 pairs with a separating line between them see Pl IX *Ob* of coins 1 and 219 Pl X *Ob* of coins 11 to 15 Pl X coin 19 Pl XII *Ob* of coins 39 to 42 and coin 52 Pl XX coin 69 Pl XXI coin 76 Pl XXII coin 86 Pl XX coins 108 and 109 also 110 Pl XX coin 126 and Pl XXI *Ob* of coins 130 and 140 for the respective figures (Theobald Figs 44 37 39 and 42 respectively) Fishes are considered auspicious up to this day it is a good omen

Figs 62 62a and 143 of the supplementary plate (Theobald Fig 36) are described by Theobald as Cat fishes see Pl IX *Ob* of coin 9 5th Fig

Fig 63 (Theobald Fig 35 inaccurately drawn) is a turtle with the symbol of 4 Vs with a common herd Pl XXI *Ob* of coin 135 a turtle has its place in ancient Indian mythology but how it comes here is a puzzle

Fig 64 is another puzzling figure of a turtle with a panther like animal and 3 Vs in front within one incense showing it to be a group of figures in one punching and not a superimposed figure see Pl XVIII *Ob* of coin 103 5th Fig Theobald has not noted this symbol

Fig 65 is the figure of a gharyal (fish eating crocodile) catching a fish in its mouth Its sharp teeth are seen only its head is seen on the coin (Theobald Fig 30) he has described it correctly a gharyal catching a *hilsa* fish but why the figure comes with the other symbols is the question to be considered Another note worthy feature of the symbol is its exact resemblance with a figure seen on the Mohenjodaro seals On the seals the entire body of a gharyal is seen but on the

coin only its head is visible probably owing to the small size of the coin see Pl XXIX The first three seals and the figure on the coin which are given side by side for comparison with Vol Platte and seal numbers of Sir J Marshall's report This symbol was first noted by Thomas In the Indian mythology Kamadeva the Hindu Cupid has 5 different names of which his 2 well known names are VARARA DHVABA and MINABETU, can it be that the symbol alludes to Kamadeva in any way ?

For the symbol see Pl X Ob of coin 20 the 5th figure it is clearly seen in the photo of the coin on the left lower corner

Figs 66 66a 66b seem to be the Vata tree They are shown in a frame (Theobald Fig 67 ?) probably to show them reverence see Pl IX coin 2 and Pl XIII coin 44 Pl XVI coin 7, where it is seen with its fruits Pl XVII coin 94 Fig 66b Pl XV coin 70 is Theobald Fig 222 but he has shown it incomplete

Fig 67 is the same Vata tree but differently drawn see Pl XIV coin 60 5th Fig

Fig 68 seems to be a conventional form of the tree with horizontal branches see Pls XI XII XIII and XIV Ob of coins 24 27 39 52 and 58 respectively 5th Fig

Fig 69 is a beautiful tree with flowers it was found on the 2 coins obtained from Nagpur Museum see Pls XVI and XXI Ob of coins 85 and 142 4th Figs

Fig 70 is undoubtedly the Patala tree with flowers see Pl XIV Ob of coin 61 5th Fig

Figs 71 72 and 72a are like Fig 68 with horizontal branches they could not be definitely identified see Pls XI XII and XVI Ob of coins 21 31 and 82 respectively Fig 72a is Fig 74 of Theobald

Fig 73 has round leaves but an M is put on its top it has resemblance to the Palasa leaves Palāśa wood is used for Havan see Pl X Ob of coin 16 5th Fig (Theobald Fig 64)

Fig 74 appears to be another variation of Fig 73 see Ob of coin 43 Pl XIII 4th Fig

Figs 75 75a 76 76a and 79 seem to be different plants with or without radiating see Pls XI Ob of coins 23 and 29 Pl XII coin 40 Pl XIII Ob of coin 49 Pl XVI coin 83 and Pl XVII Ob of coin 89

Fig 77 is like a sago palm the tree is shown with 5 branches and 4 fruits the trunk is bottle shaped

with remains of bark still attached to the trunk (Theobald Fig 71) See Pl IX, *Ob* of coins 7 8 and Pl XIII *Ob* of coin 51 on which it is very clear and complete

Fig 78 is the same as the previous figure rather crudely depicted and without fruits it has resemblance to an ordinary palm with less tapering trunk see Pl IX *Ob* of coin 5 (Theobald Fig 80 drawn in complete)

Fig 80 is a tree like Fig 73 but it is put in a big reservoir see Pl XIII *Ob* of coin 50 (Theobald Fig 65)

Fig 81 is a peculiar tree put in a railing it has only a few leaves at the top with 4 Ms put round it see Pl XIX *Ob* of coin 116 4th Fig

Fig 82 seems to be incomplete see Pl XII coin 37 4th Fig

Fig 83 is a plant grown in a *Clauri* or pot it is conspicuously seen on the Chandra Gupta Mauryan coin Theobald did not notice it see Pl XX *Ob* of coins 128 to 130 4th Figs also Pl XXI *Ob* of coins 132 137 and 138 3rd Figs

Fig 84 seems to be the cactus plant the prickly pear (*Opuntia tuna*) with its joined leaves and thorns Why it is made a coin symbol is still a mystery see Pl VI *Ob* of coins 26 and 27 5th and 4th Figs respectively

Fig 85 seems to be the leaf of the prickly pear its thorns are clear See Pl XVIII coin 101 5th Fig

Figs 86 and 86a are variations of the same figure it looks like the lotus plant growing in water the 2 circular leaves are seen on the surface and the other 2 are raised above water with their stalk and the central bud (Theobald Fig 89) which he took to be the representation of a garden it appears on the coins of the later period see Pl XVII XX and XXI *Ob* of coins 88 123 125 5th Figs

Fig 87 this symbol could be interpreted in 2 ways a shield with 3 spears behind it or an aquatic plant growing out of a small tank see Pl XXI *Ob* of coins 137 and 138 Theobald has noted this symbol as Fig 201

Figs 88 and 119 are smaller symbols such as appear on the reverse of these coins they seem to be wrongly punched on the obverse side of the coins

Figs 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96a 96 are the various symbols formed of one or two Ms with some other mark like a leaf a T shaped stand or a small circle with a dot or a spear head out of these symbols Fig 92 (Theobald Fig 169) is a conspicuous figure on the coins of the middle period see Pl IX *Ob* of coins

7 and 8, 4th Figs, Pl X, coins 19 and 20, 3rd Figs, Pl XII, *Re* of coin 39, Pl XIII, *Ob* of coins 43, 49, and 50, 5th Figs

Fig. 97 and 97a, which seems to be an arrow of 5 forks, with a tail or a feather at the end, sometimes seen with or without 2 M's, may be the Pañcha Vān described in the 1st part of this chapter. This symbol was seen by Mr Walsh on some coins which were obtained from Ghoro Ghāt of the Bhagalpur district, see Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 4, 5th Fig, Pl XI, *Ob* of coin 21, 4th Fig, this symbol is seen on the coins of early and middle periods

Fig. 98 (Theobald, Fig 118 shown incomplete) is a peculiar symbol. Theobald described it as a bird's receptacle of food. What lead him to think of it is difficult to imagine. To the author it looks like a ŚOLA MUDGARA, a club with forks, a heavy offensive arm of the early days. It has 4 M's placed by its side. See Pl IX, *Ob* of coin 3, 4th Fig, Pl XIII, *Ob* of coins 45, 46, and 47, 3rd Figs

Figs 98a and 98b are variations of the previous symbol, there is a triscalia another very ancient symbol, already described. See Pl XVIII, *Ob* of coins 99 and 97, 5th Fig (Theobald, Fig 167)

Fig 99 is undoubtedly a flag staff of the ancient days, as is seen on the gates of the Sanchi stupa sculptured in stones. the flags were attached to the upper part of the staff and they flew horizontally. The staffs were held in hands and carried by men sitting on elephants. This custom of carrying a banner in a procession even in this 20th century is not a new thing. It is undoubtedly a very old system. The elephant with the rider carrying the Pataḥā, flag, leads the procession. Theobald (Figs 119, 120) described this symbol also as the receptacle of a bird's, see Pl XVI, *Ob* of coin 85, and Pl XXI, coin 142 3rd Fig

Figs 100, 101, 102, and 103 are artistic combinations of the so called taurine symbols taken 4 together, (Theobald Figs 61, 99 165 and 164) Whether they are mere artistic combinations forming ornamental designs like the modern Peepal leaf *Jhalar*, frieze and other designs which have originated from some sacred leaf or flower, and are used as mere ornamentations or are actual technical symbols designed to represent some particular idea is difficult at present to say. See Pl XVIII, *Ob* of 100 Pl IX coin 2, 3rd Fig, Pl XI, coin 28, 3rd Fig Pl XIV, coin 55, Pl XVI, coins 77, 78, 79 and 80,

- 3rd Figs Pl XVII coin 93 and Pl XIX coin 118
Pl XIV coin 63 5th Fig Pl X coin 17 5th Fig
- Fig 104 (Theobald 166) is another combination placed in the 4 compartments of a square 2 Ms and 2 damarus See Pl XX coin 70 4th Fig
- Figs 105 106 107 108 and 109 are other beautiful complex symbols formed of 1 5 6 and 8 Ms artistically arranged round 4 circles with dots a wheel of 6 spokes a temple like figure with a spear head a shield like figure and 2 small circles respectively Any attempt to identify them would be a mere conjecture For the figures see Pl XIII coin 48, 5th Fig Pl XI coin 30 5th Fig Pl XI coins 22 23 and 24 4th Figs Pl XIII coin 44 4th Fig and Pl XIV, coin 62 5th Fig for the respective symbols
- Fig 110 is clearly the SVASTIKA symbol placed in a Mandapa this figure is a well known ancient symbol it is seen on many Mohenjodaro seals and is a world wide figure See Pl XVI coin 8, 5th Fig and Pl XXI coin 142 (Theobald Fig 134)
- Figs 111 and 111a are 2 variations of the same figure (Theobald Figs 274 and 136) Cunningham described it as a bale of cotton but Theobald recognized it correctly he called it Caduceus which is a rod with 2 cobras intertwining it he thought it to be a modified form of the same and considered it to be connected with Siva The author holds the same view On the Nigapanchami day in August when the serpent is worshipped similar figures are drawn on paper and sold for worship see Pl XX Ob of coins 71 to 75 3rd Figs Pl XVII coins 93 to 105 4th Figs and Pl XXI coins 135 and 136 4th Fig This symbol is also seen on a large number of coins on their reverse side Pl XVIII on the Reverse of coins 97 98 99 102 103 104 it is seen on both the sides but it has not been found on the early coins
- Fig 112 resembles a Stambha a pillar it was seen on a coin found at Kosambi by Mr Martin from whom I obtained a duplicate see Pl XVII coin 95 5th Fig
- Figs 113 and 113a are two bow and arrow figures (Theobald Figs 58 and 56 but without any M) The bows and arrows were the chief arms of war for use from a distance in the early days and in the Hindu mythology they are the Priharanas the emblematic arms in the hand of the Mother goddess See Pl X Ob of coins 17 and 18 3rd Figs Pl XV coin 71 5th Fig This symbol is seen on the coins of early middle and the later or Mauryan periods

Figs 114, 114a (Theobald Fig 9) is a steel yard¹ just as we use in India now a days, the horizontal line is the arm the small upright line indicates the index at the fulcrum, the hanging line is shown with a pan, the circular piece is the sliding weight, and the rectangular figure is probably a vessel. Exactly similar figures are seen on the copper cast coins and on the Gandhar sculpture representing the Sibi Jataka story, now in the British Museum where the scene is depicted of King Sibi sacrificing his own flesh equal in weight to the weight of a dove to save it from a hawk a man is standing there with a similar steel yard for weighing his flesh for the illustration, see Pl XI of Barnett's *Antiquities of India* 1913 See Pl XVIII, Ob coin 106, 5th Fig

Fig 115 is a square of 4 compartments (Theobald, Fig 162) is the symbol Chatushkona already described See Pl XV coin 71, 4th Fig but the figure is doubtful, it may be the railing of a tree generally shown on the coins without the tree

Fig 116 seems to be the depiction of a thatched shelter house as is seen on the Sohgaura copperplate as illustrated in my previous thesis the small circle probably represents a well Building of a shelter house and digging a well near it is a very ancient custom of the Hindus as a charitable work to help the travellers on roads See Pl XX coin 129 5th Fig

Fig 116a seems to be the same but there is the symbol of a triscalis with it another very ancient symbol It is found on the Lycaean coins of about 450 B.C. (*Numismatic Chronicle* 1886 Pl I Fig 7) it is also found on the early stones of Scotland (Theobald) See Pl XVIII Ob coin 98 also 97 and 99 5th Figs

Fig 117 is a group of 5 big circular dots see Pl XXI Ob of coins 139 140 4th Figs

Figs 118 and 119 are smaller figures and seem to be wrongly punched on the obverse side of the coins by mistake they have been already described in the 1st part See Pl XIII coin 42 and Pl VII Ob of coin 35

Fig 120 is a floral design with 4 radial lines and 4 leaves see Pl XX coin 122 5th Fig

Fig 121 is like the Sudar-ana Chakra a wheel of 8 spokes and 8 axe head like blades attached to it Theobald

¹ Some scholars thought it to be the Libra sign of the zodiac but there are no other zodiac symbols on the Coins The Libra would have been shown by the figure of a scale and pans which was well known and is fully described by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*

(Fig 142) has described it to be a wheel with 8 bells attached to it, like the Mass bell of the medieval period of Europe, but the clappers are not seen there. See Pl XIX, coin 113, 5th Fig, and Pl XIII, *Ob* of coin 43, 3rd Fig.

Fig 122 is like the flower carrier, the Indian *Dālī*, for carrying flowers for worship, there are 2 M's in the figure. See Pl XIV, 53, 5th Fig.

Fig 123 seems to be the figure of a hand enclosed in a frame but only 4 fingers are seen. A very primitive custom of printing the hand impression with turmeric or the red coloured powdered turmeric, Kumkum on the walls or on the doors is still prevalent throughout India amongst the Hindus, specially in villages. It is considered auspicious; the women of the family generally do it. The symbol may be the same sort of the hand impression without the thumb. Theobald (Fig 7) thought it to be the hand impression of a Sati. Thomas had coins with similar symbol with 5 finger marks. See Pl XIX *Ob* of coins 117 to 120, 4th Figs. This symbol has not been seen on the *early* and the *middle* period coins by the author.

Fig 124 (Theobald Fig 207) seems to be the depiction of lightning. Theobald took it doubtfully to be the figure of a 2 headed snake. He is right to note the blunt head of the figure. See Pl X, coin 11, Pl XIII coin 46. Pl XIV, coin 58. This symbol has been seen only on the middle period coins.

Fig 125 is like the Figure 60 of Pl XXII described before, with a M between. See Pl XX coin 131, 4th Fig.

Fig 126 There are 2 small circles with dots already described before see Pl VII as extra figures on the obverse of coin 34 which is not illustrated on the plate. Photograph of another coin is shown there.

Fig 127 is the figure of a man carrying something in his stretched hands. It may be a soldier. Theobald (Fig 2) took it to be the figure of Śiva but there is no indication for its being the image of Śiva. *No punch marked coin has been seen with the figure of any deity up to this time by the author.* See Pl XVIII *Ob* of coin 104 5th Fig.

Fig 128 is undoubtedly the figure of a soldier, with a sword and a shield in his right and left hands respectively. See Pl XVI, *Ob* of coins 83 and 84, 4th Figs. The figure has a turban on its head.

Fig 129 is a figure probably of a soldier with a peculiar head dress holding a bow in his right hand. See Pl XI, *Ob* of coin 28, 5th Fig.

Fig 130 In this figure there are 3 separate human figures each punched separately by different punches as is clear from the incuse formed on the coin. The figures are not in a line, they look like soldiers holding bows in their hands they may be shields. See Pl XXI coin 132 1st 2nd and 3rd Figs

Fig 133 (Theobald Fig 1) This is a group of 3 human figures in one punch they are not like the previous figures separately punched. The chief feature of this figure is that the 3rd figure has a clear diadem like fillet hanging behind its head. There is no Indian head dress of the ancient Hindus like it known to us and it is a well known fact to the numismatists that Indo Greek kings on their coins always got their figures stamped with diadems a custom which was also adopted by the Sakas the Greek Kushans and even by the Great Guptas on their coins. It leads one to think that this punch marked coin bearing the human figure with a double fillet hanging behind would have been imitated by some Hindu king when the royal diadem became well known to Indians. This coin gives an idea of the period when it was manufactured. The latest date would be 2nd century B.C. and the earliest the third century B.C. The last limit of the manufacturing of the punch marked coins can be put safely in the 2nd century B.C. at the latest after which we have coins with legends. Such a coin is also illustrated by Sir A. Cunningham in his coins of Ancient India Pl I No 11. Mr Walsh has described a similar coin obtained from Ghoro Ghat of Bhagalpur Dist (J.B. and O.R.S. 1919 Pl I Nos 53 54 and 55). Dr V. Smith also illustrated such a coin in the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins Vol I Pl XIX Fig 3. For the illustration see Pl XXI coins 134 135 and 136 of this thesis. Theobald took one of the figures as of a female owing to perhaps the rounded knot of the hair but in the Achaean sculptors men are seen with knotted hair with and without turban on the head.

Fig 132 is another separately punched group of human figures Pl XXI coin 133. In this the 3rd figure has 3 dots above its head.

Fig 133 is a flower see Pl X coin 18 5th Fig.

Fig 134 is a small turtle with the figure of 4 M's. See Pl XXI coin 135 5th Fig.

Figs 135 and 136 are symbols connected with M's in combination with a spear head. See Pl XXI coins 142 and 143 5th Fig.

- Fig 137 of the supplement, Pl XXXII, is a Shadara chakra, having 2 śaktis, arrows and 4 bell like figures, round a circle with a dot See Pl XXXII, coin 147
- Fig 138 is another Chakra composed of 2 śaktis, 2 M's, one fish, and one oval with a dot See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 146
- Fig 139 is a differently formed Chakra consisting of 2 śaktis, 2 fishes and 2 W's in 2 ovals See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 145
- Fig 140 is seen incomplete A circle is mounted in a railing See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 147, 4th Fig
- Fig 141 is a flag staff like Figure 99 See Pl XXXII, coin 148
- Fig 142 is a turtle with 3 W's See Pl XXXII, coin 149, 5th Fig
- Fig 143 has been already described with Fig 62, see Pl XXXII coin 147
- Fig 144 is a Pātālī tree, already described See Pl XXXII, Ob of coin 146
- Fig 145 seems to be an aquatic plant with trifoliate leaves and root bulb, the line indicates the surface of water, it looks like the modern JALAKTUMBI, or Kachuri the scourge of Bengal tanks and rivers See Pl XXXII coin 146
- Fig 146 is a bulbous plant See Pl XXXII coin 150
- Fig 147 is another aquatic plant with leaves and flowers it may be the lotus plant there is a fish below in the water and 2 M's See Pl XXXII coin 145
- Fig 148 This symbol could not be identified though it is clear on the coin It looks like a goad a battle axe head on the right side and a fish on the left with M all enclosed in a frame See Pl XXXII, coin 145 3rd Figure
- Fig 149 is undoubtedly the figure of a jumping dog with its tail turned up like the Fig 47 see Pl IX, Ob of coins 9 and 10

III GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLY AND LATER-PERIOD COINS AND SYMBOL GROUPS, THEIR APPROXIMATE PERIOD AND INTRINSIC VALUE

From the study of a large number of silver punch marked coins it is found that the largest number of coins are such as are found distributed throughout the country, and have been obtained by the author from 13 different places from the N W frontier to Behar and from the Punjab to Malwa the Central Provinces to the Deccan All these coins are of 32 Ratti standard weight, the PANAS or DHARANAS with an aggregate average weight of about 52 grains They all bear a group

of 5 symbols on the obverse side, but on the reverse from 1 to 4, and in a few cases 6 or 7 symbols, the major number of them are rectangular and square, roughly cut out from flat bars, with one to four corners cut, showing the process adopted in regulating their weights by *chipping their corners before punching*. But the round and elliptically shaped coins bearing the same group of symbols are comparatively much less and they are never seen cut or clipped on any side, indicating that either they were flattened round from correctly weighed pellets, or were cut from round rods in sheets and regulated in weight before flattening round or elliptical. Naturally those which are smaller in size, sometimes less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch are thicker. They generally bear finely executed symbols of geometrical precision of a *complex design*. These coins are further divided into two types with regard to their shapes and designs of symbols. Coins which have been recognized as of the Mauryan period containing the figure of a three arched hill with a crescent (Fig. 43, Pl. XXVI) accompanied by a Chakra composed of 3 arrows, 3 M's, and a central circle with a big dot (Fig. 28, Pl. XXVI) have been tentatively designated of *later period* by the author (vide Pls. XVII to XXI). Over and above these coins there are other coins found mixed with those described above, are a little broader and do not show very finely executed symbols, are in majority of a round form, not geometrically circular, with a few exceptions, and some of the symbols found on such coins are also found on those of the Mauryan period showing a connection with them. Such coins are also obtained from a large number of places distant apart, these coins have been tentatively designated as the coins of the *middle period*. They are illustrated on Pls. IX to XVI. The Golakhpur hoard which has been very fully described by Mr. Walsh (see Pls. IV and V of this thesis) bears a particular symbol of a six pointed Chakra (Fig. 2 of Pl. XXVI) on all the coins, it resembles the symbol found on a small square, opaque greenish vitreous seal found out of the rubbish excavated from the infilling between the wooden palisades, described by Megasthenes as the wooden city walls of Pataliputra, excavated by Dr. Spooner at Buladibagh of Patna¹. This symbol is a key to ascertain the period of the Golakhpur coins. This fact was first noted by Mr. Walsh and he concluded that the coins are earlier than CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA. Taking into consideration the other established facts, the Ajātasatru of the Śauśanāga dynasty of the 6th century B.C. built a fortress at the village of PATALI to protect his kingdom against the confederacy of Vrijis, Licchavis, and Videhas, and also the UDAYIN (the Udayin Bhadda of the Buddhist literature) founded a new city of KUSUMAPURA on the southern bank of the Ganges (GANGA) which was afterwards

called *Pataliputra*. It is not incorrect to think that the wooden walls or palisades were erected either by Ajatashatru or Udayin who founded the new city. It becomes evident from the above facts that the said vitreous seal bearing the particular symbol was of the Saisunika period or even earlier.¹ Sir J. Marshall also was of opinion that the infilling between the palisades may have been made in part from older rubbish heaps.






















































If seals found at Ur and other cities could help to limit the period of the seals found from the excavations of Mohenjodaro between 3000 to 3500 B.C. why could this seal not be taken into account in the same way to limit the period of the Golakhpur coins which are all punched with the similar symbol as is seen on the seal? The author thinks that it would not be wrong to say that Golakhpur coins are of the Saisunika period. Of course it would not be possible in these circumstances to attribute the coins to any particular king Bimbisara Ajatashatru Udayin or some other of the dynasty.

Now coming to the description of the middle period coins it will be clear from the symbol group illustrations of Pl. IX 2nd Figs. that there are ten other coins which bear similar symbol (*Chakra*) and it would be no wonder if these coins are of the later Saisunika kings as they are a little more advanced in execution and of a smaller dimension in comparison with the Golakhpur hoard.

According to Puranic chronology of dynasties which are now recognized by a majority of scholars there was the famous dynasty of *BRIHADARATHAS* which existed before the great War of Mahabharata and the 10th king of the dynasty named *SAHADEVA* was killed in the great war after whom 27 other descendants ruled in the Magadha till about 727 B.C. (Mr K. P. Jaiswal *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. I 112ff. ¶ 36). After this dynasty came the Saisunagas from about 727 B.C. to rule over Magadha of which 10 kings reigned for 366 years and the last king was followed by the Nava Nandas at about 361 B.C. which dynasty ruled till 326 B.C. to give place to the well known *MAURIA CHANDRAGUPTA* who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. If the chronology described is correct and there is no reason to think otherwise it seems rather hard to think that these dynasties could have exercised their power so long over vast territories without any coinage system of their own. The Western savants like Sir A. Cunningham and others have established through numismatic evidence that Indians had a coinage of their own in the shape of punch marked coins which was prevalent in the

¹ Unfortunately the vitreous seal is not traceable now but it is fully described by Mr. Walsh *J.B.O.R.S.* 1919.

* See *Cambridge History of India* Ch. VIII by E. J. Rapson pp. 296-318.

| Serial No. | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side of the I ucknow Museum Coins | Symbols on the Reverse side | Obverse | Reverse |
|------------|----------------|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | L ₁ |     |    |   |   |
| 2 | L ₂ |     |       |   |   |
| 3 | L ₃ |     |       |   |   |
| 4 | L ₄ |     |       |   |   |

time of BUDDHA whose contemporaries were Bimbisara, Ajāta śatru and Pradyota. It does not mean that there were no coins in any shape before Buddha and does not preclude us from searching for them as we know that the earliest coinage of Hindu India consisted of silver and copper pieces punched with symbols without any legend on them. We have only to study and find out how far we can go back into the history of ancient India to find them out.

CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCES OF EARLY AND LATER SILVER COINS

The early silver punch marked coins of full denomination the Panas or the Puranas not the half panas illustrated on Pls I II III, and XXXI are found to be less than 43 gram in weight. Either they are of another standard weight of 24 Rattis which is also mentioned in Sanskrit texts or they seem to have lost about $\frac{1}{4}$ of their original weight a proof of their great antiquity if they were actually of 32 Ratti standard weight. They are generally thinner bigger broad distorted and some times saucer shaped of irregularly roundish form varying in size from 1.5 to .99 inches punched with only four big bold peculiar symbols of a crude design on the obverse side but on the reverse they are punched with from one to fourteen symbols of crude but simple form sometimes leaving no blank space on the face of the coin. The obverse symbols are found to form different groups of a systematic arrangement as will be evident from the illustrations an indication of their *evolved stage* and not the primitive condition. They are all made of a homogeneously alloyed silver containing over 78 per cent of silver and 22 per cent of copper with considerable amount of lead iron and other impurities. The proportion of ingredients vary in different types of early coins. The other 25 early coins which were obtained from the vicinity of Cawnpore illustrated on Pl VI are not so big but all their corners are rounded off on account of very early age they are also punched with only 4 crude symbols. None exceeds 43 gram in weight containing 75 per cent of silver. The smaller early Ardha Panas do not show any grouping arrangement of symbols on the obverse side they are punched with one to two big symbols.

The coins of the *middle period* are a little thicker and smaller in size and are not seen distorted like the early coins they have always 5 symbols of a better execution and complex design if classified they indicate a systematic arrangement of grouping of symbols. On their reverse are found from one to four lightly punched symbols of simpler designs as are found on the early coins but in a few cases there are 6 to 7 symbols on the reverse. They are also made from homogeneously alloyed silver, the percentage of silver varies from 80 to 72































































in different coins. The later or Mauryan period coins have still more finely executed symbols of geometrical precision, punched 5 on all the coins. The alloyed silver of which they are made shows a percentage of 79 to 68.5 of pure silver, and copper from 20 to 25 per cent with base metals like lead, iron, tin and galena.

It is found also that the later coins carry some of the symbols which appear on the coins which existed prior to them and on this basis the author has arranged the coin groups in the illustrations. A careful study of illustrations would show many well defined connecting links between the different group arrangements. It will also be noticed that some of the coins have been obtained from as many as 12 different places situated far apart for example coin No 128 Pl XX another coin No 105, Pl XX was obtained from 9 different cities, a third coin No 106, Pl XVIII was secured from 8 distant places. There are only two possible explanations of this fact (1) either the coin belongs to a king whose empire comprised the whole of India even beyond the N W Frontiers or (2) his coins were so vastly distributed through the country that they are found up to this day after 2 200 or 2 300 years. Whatever be the exact cause, it undoubtedly shows its recognition as a currency in the whole Indian empire of the period the author leaves these facts for the reader to consider and judge.

BENARES,

DURGA PRASĀD

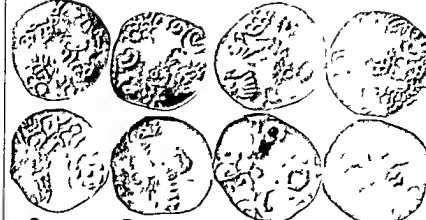
25th October 1933

| Class | Symbols on the Obverse side of Lucknow Museum Coins | Symbols on the Reverse side | Obverse | Reverse |
|-----------------|---|--|---|---|
| LB ₂ | <div>1</div>  <div>2</div>  <div>3</div>  <div>4</div>  | <div>1</div>  <div>2</div>  <div>3</div>  <div>4</div>  <div>5</div>  <div>6</div>  <div>7</div>  <div>8</div>  <div>9</div>  <div>10</div>  <div>11</div>  <div>12</div>  |   |   |
| LC ₁ |     | <div>1</div>  <div>2</div>  <div>3</div>  <div>4</div>  <div>5</div>  <div>6</div>  <div>7</div>  |   |   |
| LC ₁ |     | <div>1</div>  <div>2</div>  <div>3</div>  <div>4</div>  <div>5</div>  |   |   |
| LC ₁ |     | <div>1</div>  <div>2</div>  <div>3</div>  <div>4</div>  <div>5</div>  <div>6</div>  |   |   |

| Class | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|
| LC ₁ | | | | |
| LC ₂ | | | | |
| LD ₁ | | | | |
| LD ₂ | | | | |

DPRASAD

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| | | | | | | | |



GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF GOLAKHPUR COINS
IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

PUBLISHED BY MR WALSH

PLATE IV

PRE MAURYAN MAGADHA COINS

| Serial Number of Coins | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | | Symbols on the Reverse side | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|--|-----------------------------|-------|--------|--------|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | | | |
| 4 | G 1A ₁ | | | | | | EXTRA 4 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| 19 | 1A ₂ | | | | | | 19 | EXTRA 20 | | | |
| 26 | 1A ₃ | | | | | | | 21 | | | |
| 28 | 1A ₄ | | | | | | 30 | 26 | | | |
| 35 | 1A ₅ | | | | | | 35 | 27 | | | |
| 39 | 1A ₆ | | | | | | 36 | 37 | | | |
| 43 | 1A ₇ | | | | | | 37 | 40 | | | |
| 44 | 1A ₈ | | | | | | 39 | 41 | | | |
| 47 | 1A ₉ | | | | | | 42 | | | | |
| 51 | 1A ₁₀ | | | | | | 44 | | | | |
| 53 | 1A ₁₁ | | | | | | 46 | Coin 43 | | | |
| 54 | 1A ₁₂ | | | | | | 51 | | | | |
| 56 | 1A ₁₃ | | | | | | 55 | Symbols on the reverse side | | | |
| 57 | 1A ₁₄ | | | | | | 57 | | | | |
| 58 | 1A ₁₅ | | | | | | 58 | | | | |
| 59 | 1A ₁₆ | | | | | | 59 | | | | |
| 64 | 1B ₁ | | | | | | EXTRA SYMBOLS ON OBVERSE 64 | | | | |

For illustration of Coins, see Plates I II and III facing page 72, Pt I,
Vol V Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society, 1919

D Prasad

For illustration of Coin, see Plates I II and III facing page 72, Pt I,
Vol V Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF GOLAKHPUR COINS IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

PUBLISHED BY MR WALSH

PLATE V.

PRE-MAURYAN MAGADHA COINS.

| Serial Number of Coins | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Extra Symbol | Symbols on the Reverse | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------|---------------------------|----|----|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | 70 | 74 | 75 |
| 70 | 2A ₁ | | | | | ? | . | | | |
| 78 | 2A ₂ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 80 | 2A ₃ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 91 | 2A ₄ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 83 | 2A ₅ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 95 | 2A ₆ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 86 | 2A ₇ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 87 | 2A ₈ | | | | | | | | | |
| 88 | 2A ₉ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 89 | 2A ₁₀ | | | | | | | | | |
| 98 | 3A ₁ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 99 | 3A ₂ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 90 | 3B ₁ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 100 | 3B ₂ | | | | | ? | . | | | |
| 101 | 4A ₁ | | | | | | | | | |
| 102 | 4B ₁ | | | | | | . | | | |
| 105 | 5A ₁ | | | | | ? | | | | |

**GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF 24 RATTIS STANDARD
WEIGHT. (AUTHOR)**

PLATE VI.

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|-------|
| 1 | A ₁ | | | | | See C C A. I Pl I, No 10 Blank | |
| 2 | A ₂ | | | | | 1 2 3 BLANK 1 2 | |
| 3 | A ₃ | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 | |
| 4 | B ₁ | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 | |
| 5 | B ₂ | | | | | 1 2 3 4 | |

Obtained from Lucknow.

Symbols on a Divan of 32 Rattis Std Wt Author's Cabinet PLATE VII

| Serial No | Class | Reverse | Symbols on one side, Obverse | Coins |
|-----------|-------|------------------------------|--|-------|
| 1 | x | BLANK Weight 105.75 Gr | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 Central | |

From Lucknow

Symbols on Ardhapans of 32 Rattis Standard Weight (Author) PLATE VIII

| Serial No | Class | Obverse | Symbols on the Reverse side | Coins |
|-----------|--|---------|---|-------|
| 1 | KOSALA COINS No groups of symbols on the Obverse side | | 1 2 | |
| 2 | | | 1 2 3 4 | |
| 3 | | | 1 2 3 4 | |
| 4 | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 | |










































































Obtained from Lucknow

PLATE VIII

Durga Prasad

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE IX.

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|-----------------|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 1A ₁ | <div><div>1</div><div>2</div><div>3</div><div>4</div><div>5</div></div> | <div> 3 indistinct</div> |  | 1 CA I, Pl 1, No 13 2 Rawalpindi 3 Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur Mr Srinath —o— |
| 2 | 1B ₁ | <div></div> | <div> 2 indistinct</div> |  | Rawalpindi —o— |
| 3 | 2A ₁ | <div></div> | |  | Hasan Abdal (Mr Martin) (No 2617) —o— |
| 4 | 2B ₁ | <div></div> | <div> 3 indistinct</div> |  | Peshawar —o— Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur —o— |
| 5 | 2C ₁ | <div></div> | |  | Peshawar —o— |
| 6 | 2C ₂ | <div></div> | <div> EXTRA ON OL</div> |  | Kosam (Mr Martin) (No 2628) —o— |
| 7 | 3A ₁ | <div><div>1</div><div>2</div><div>3</div><div>4</div><div>5</div></div> | <div> EXTRA ON OL</div> |  | Rawalpindi —o— |
| 8 | 4A ₁ | <div></div> | <div></div> |  | Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath —o— |
| 9 | 5A ₁ | <div><div>1</div><div>2</div><div>3</div><div>4</div><div>5</div></div> | <div> 5 indistinct</div> |  | Benares |
| 10 | 5A ₂ | <div><div>1</div><div>2</div><div>3</div><div>4</div><div>5</div></div> | <div> 3 indistinct</div> |  | Peshawar —o— Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur |
| 8A | 4A ₂ | <div></div> | <div>Restra. h by No 51 ever</div> | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur |

D Prasad

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE X

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | Symbols on the Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------|---|
| 11 | 6A ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | EXTRA SYMBOLS | | Peshawar —o— |
| 12 | 6B ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | EXTRA SYMBOLS | | Peshawar —o— |
| 13 | 6B ₂ | 1 2 3 4 5 | EXTRA | | Peshawar, 1 Ahraura 2 B Srinath's Cabinet —o— |
| 14 | 6C ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | 3 indistinct EXTRA | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur V S C I M, Pl XIX, No 5 |
| 15 | 6D ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | | See | V Smith C I M, Pl XIX, Fig 6 — |
| 16 | 7A ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | | See | Lucknow Museum C A I, Pl I, No 8 V Smith Plate XIX, 16 C A I, Pl I, 8 |
| 17 | 8A ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | | See | Pl 1, No 4 & 5 C A I —o— |
| 17A | 8A ₂ | 1 2 3 4 5 | EXTRA FIGS | See | No 2 & 3 Pl I, C A I Broad early. —o— |
| 18 | 8B ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | | See | —o— |
| 19 | 9A ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | | | Peshawar, Palan pur, Museum Patna —o— |
| 20 D P | 10A ₁ | 1 2 3 4 5 | EXTRA SYMBOL | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath Sah —o— Durga Prasad |

All the Ahraura Coins were presented by Mr Srinath Sah of Benares

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XI

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on the Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------------------|-------|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 21 | 12A ₁ | | | | | | 2 indistinct | | Peshawar and Rawalpindi |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | 13A ₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur B Srinath's Cabinet |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | 13A ₂ | | | | | | + | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Peshawar |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | 13A ₃ | | | | | | | | Teregna Patna, M No 157 |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | 13B ₁ | | | | | | | | Kosam (Mr Martin) |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | 14A ₁ | | | | | | 3 indistinct | | Ahraura Dist Mirzapur B Srinath's Cabinet |
| 26A | 14A ₂ | | | | | | SILVER COATED | | —o— |
| 27 | 14A ₃ | | | | | | —o— | | Nalanda —o— Mr Martin's Cabinet |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | 14A ₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 16A ₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath |
| | —o— | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | 16A ₂ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath. |

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XII.

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse | | | | | Symbols on the Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|------------------------|--|--|--|--|------------------------------------|-------|--|
| 31 | 16B ₁ | | | | | | EXTRA (B O O) ON REVERSE | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 32 | 17A ₁ | | | | | | EXTRA ON REVERSE | | Peshawar |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 33 | 17A ₂ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 34 | 17A ₃ | | | | | | EXTRA ON REVERSE | | Ahraura, Lahore and Peshawar |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 35 | 17B ₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 36 | 17C ₁ | | | | | | indistinct | | Peshawar |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 37 | 18A ₁ | | | | | | | | Teregna, No 40 Ahraura Dist Mirzapur B Srinath's Cabinet |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 38 | 21A ₁ | | | | | | | | Rawalpindi |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 39 | 22A ₁ | | | | | | indistinct | | Peshawar |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 40 | 22A ₂ | | | | | | | | Peshawar Ahraura Mr Srinath |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |
| 41 | 22B ₁ | | | | | | | | Peshawar |
| | —0— | | | | | | | | —0— |

D Prasad

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XIII

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on the Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------------------|-------|---|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 42 | 22B ₂ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur B Srinath's Cabinet |
| 43 | 23A ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Patna and (Mr Martin) Swat |
| 44 | 24A ₁ | | | | | | | | Mr Srinath Ahraura, Dist Mirzapur |
| 45 | 25A ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Rawalpindi. 3 Indore 4 Hasanabada 5 Bhagalpur 6 No 41 & 42 Ahraura |
| 46 | 25A ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura Bhagalpur |
| 47 | 25A ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura Dist Mirzapur Mr Srinath |
| 48 | 26A ₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Mirzapur Dist Mr Srinath |
| 49 | 26A ₂ | | | | | | | | V Smith C I M, No 1 Pl XIX, Bhagalpur No 45 Patna M |
| 50 | 27A ₁ | | | | | | | | See CAI Pl I, No 1 Cunningham |
| 51 | 28A ₁ | | | | | | | | One Restuck Coin Peshawar Rawalpindi Bhagalpur 4b Eliot Pl I, 4 & 6 Ahraura |
| 52 | 28B ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 1 2 Swat 2 |

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XIV.

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------|-------|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 53 | 29A ₁ | | | | | | | | Mr Srinath Ahraura, Mirzapur Dist |
| 54 | 29A ₂ | | | | | | | | Rawalpindi Peshawar Swat Mathura Taxila Teregna No 146 Bhagalpur Ahraura Spooner, 21A, 4 B |
| 55 | 29A ₃ | | | | | | | | Mr Srinath Ahraura, Mirzapur Dist |
| 56 | 29A ₄ | | | | | | | | Rawalpindi Ahraura B Srinath's Cabinet |
| 57 | 29A ₅ | | | | | | | | Peshawar Rawalpindi, Swat Taxila, 23A Ahraura |
| 58 | 29A ₆ | | | | | | | | Rawalpindi Teregna Peshawar Spooner, B 3 Ahraura |
| 59 | 29A ₇ | | | | | | | | Rawalpindi |
| 60 | 29A ₈ | | | | | | | | Swat |
| 61 | 29A ₉ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Mirzapur Dist B Srinath's Collection |
| 62 | 29A ₁₀ | | | | | | | | Lucknow |
| 62A | 29A ₁₁ 1 | | | | | | | | Teregna |
| 63 | 29A ₁₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura, Mirzapur Dist |




















































































GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE V

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------|-------|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 64 | 20 A ₁₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Rawalpindi 2 Ahraura —o— |
| 65 | 20 A ₁₃ | | | | | | Indistinct | | 1 Peshawar 2 Swat 3 Ahraura 4 Taxila 5 Mathura 6 Teregna —o— |
| 66 | 20 B ₁ | | | | | | | SEE → | Elhota 1 C of S India Pl I No 5 —o— |
| 67 | 20 B ₂ | | | | | | | SEE → | Bhagalpur 1 J B O R S, Vol V, No 50 —o— |
| 68 | 20 B ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura Mr Srinath —o— |
| 69 | 20 C ₁ | | | | | | | | Ahraura B Srinath —o— |
| 70 | 30 A ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Lucknow 3 Hasanabdal 4 Teregna 148 5 Ahraura —o— |
| 71 | 31 A ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Lucknow 3 Swat 4 Ahraura 5 V Smith No 7 —o— |
| 72 | 32 A ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Lucknow 3 Hasanabdal 4 Teregna 144 5 Ahraura 6 Spooner 20 B —o— |
| 73 | 32 A ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Rawalpindi 2 Lucknow 3 Mathura 4 Teregna 143 5 Ahraura —o— |
| 74 | 32 A ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Swat 3 Kosam 4 Mathura 5 Ahraura 6 Bhagalpur |



















































































GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVI

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 75 | 33A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Peshawar —o— |
| 75A | 33A ₂ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Lucknow —o— |
| 76 | 34A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Peshawar —o— |
| 77 | 34A ₁ |  |  |  |  | ? |  |  | Ahaura B Srinath's Collection —o— |
| 78 | 35A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Swat Mr Martin 2219 —o— |
| 79 | 35A ₂ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 Peshawar 2 Bhagalpur 3 Ahaura Mr Srinath —o— |
| 80 | 35B ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 Peshawar 2 Rawalpindi —o— |
| 81 | 36A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Peshawar —o— |
| 82 | 36A ₂ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 Allahabad 2 Hasanabdal 3 Terega 4 Ahaura Mr Srinath —o— |
| 83 | 37A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahaura B Srinath's Collection —o— |
| 84 | 37A ₂ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Swat 2220 Mr Martin —o— |
| 85 | 38A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Nagpur Museum |

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVII

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|-------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|
| 86 | 39 A ₁ | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  |   |  | Mr Srinath Ahraura —o— |
| 87 | 39 B ₁ |  |  |  |  |  |   |  | Ahraura Swat Peshawar Rawalpindi Taxila, No 61 —o— |
| 88 | 39 B ₂ |  |  |  |  |  |   |  | Bhagalpur Ahraura Peshawar Taxila, No 6 Rawalpindi Swat —o— |
| 89 | 39 B ₃ |  |  |  |  |  |   |  | 1 Rawalpindi 2 Taxila 301 —o— |
| 90 | 39 B ₄ |  |  |  |  |  |   Indistinct |  | 1 Taxila 261 2 Bhagalpur 3 Ahraura 4 Peshawar —o— |
| 91 | 39 B ₅ |  |  |  |  |  |   |  | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura —o— |
| 92 | 39 B ₆ |  |  |  |  |  |     |  | 1 Rawalpindi 2 Peshawar 3 Swat 4 Bhagalpur, 48 5 Ahraura —o— |
| 93 | 40 A ₁ |  |  |  |  |  | | SEE | 1 Teregna (Patna M) —o— |
| 94 | 40 A ₂ |  |  |  |  |  | | SEE J BND AS 1919 Vol V Part II Pl I No 12 CORROCMAT WARD | 1 Bhagalpur No 12 (Patna M) 2 Taxila, 16B —o— |
| 95 | 40 A ₃ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 Isosam —o— |
| 96 | 40 A ₄ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Ahraura Mr Srinath |

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH
MARK'D COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XVIII

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbol on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------|-------|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 97 | 40A ₅ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar —○— |
| 98 | 40A ₆ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Benares —○— |
| 99 | 40A ₇ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura 2 Peshawar 3 Hasanabdel 4 Swat 5 Bhagalpur Nos 9 10 83 CCAI Pl I 14 |
| 100 | 40A ₈ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura 2 Peshawar 3 Swat 4 Bhagalpur No 11 5 Teregna —○— Srinath Sah |
| 101 | 40A ₉ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura 2 Delhi 3 Peshawar —○— |
| 102 | 40A ₁₀ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura 3 Swat 4 Bhagalpur No 13 5 Taxila No 23 E —○— |
| 103 | 40A ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar —○— |
| 104 | 40A ₁₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Kosum 3 Teregna 4 Ahraura —○— |
| 105 | 40A ₁₄ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Mathura 3 Ahraura 4 Teregna 5 Taxila No 2 —○— |
| 106 | 40B ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Pawalpindi 3 Swat 4 Hasanabdel 5 Ahraura 6 Teregna 7 Parnal 8 Bhagalpur —○— |
| 107 | 40B ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar —○— D Prasad |

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XIX.

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Reverse Symbols | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------------|-------|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | |
| 108 | 40C ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura 3 Taxila, No. 25 4 Teregna |
| 109 | 40C ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Ahraura, Dist. Mirzapur Mr. Srinath Sah |
| 110 | 40D ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Swat 2218 (Mr Martin) |
| 111 | 40D ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura Mr. Srinath |
| 112 | 40D ₃ | | | | | | EXTRA | SEE | V. Smith C I M, Pl XIX, No. 1 |
| 113 | 40E ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura Mr Srinath |
| 114 | 40F ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar |
| 115 | 40F ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Ahraura Mr. Srinath |
| 116 | 40F ₁ | | | | | | | SEE | 1 Teregna (Patna, M) |
| 117 | 40G ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 C A I, Pl I, 12 Teregna |
| 118 | 40G ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Mr Srinath Ahraura 2 (Mr Martin) |
| 119 | 40G ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar |

2 Prasad

GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

PLATE XX.

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|--------------------|--|---|
| 120 | 40G ₄ | | | | | | | | 1 Ishwar 2 Ahraura 3 Taxila 28 4 Swat |
| 121 | 40E ₄ | | | | | | | | 1 Peshawar 2 Swat 3 Taxila 11 4 Ahraura Mr Srinath |
| 122 | 40E ₃ | | | | | | | SEE J.B. & Co. R. 5 1919 Vol. V No. 24 Page 470 | 1 Bhawalpur (Chorkhot) (Il. Nr. L. No. 24) |
| 123 | 40E ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Bhawalpur (Chorkhot) (Il. Nr. L. No. 41) |
| 124 | 40E ₂ | | | | | | | SEE | 1 Ahraura 2 Mr Srinath |
| 125 | 40H ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Rawalpindi 2 Peshawar 3 Swat 4 Bhawalpur 5 Taxila 11 6 Taxila 24 7 Bhawalpur |
| 126 | 40H ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Teregna (Patra M.) |
| 127 | 40H ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Ishwar 2 Bhawalpur 3 Lucknow 4 Kosni 5 Bhawalpur 6 Ahraura 7 Taxila |
| 128 | 40J ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Ishwar 2 Bhawalpur 3 Swat 4 Mathura 5 Kosni 6 Bhawalpur 7 Bhawalpur 8 Taxila |
| 129 | 40J ₂ | | | | | | | | 1 Teregna 2 Deccan 3 Jarnal 4 Benares 5 Wadia |
| 130 | 40J ₃ | | | | | | | | 1 Ishwar 2 Bhawalpur 3 Teregna 4 Ahraura 5 Mr Srinath |
| 131 | 40K ₁ | | | | | | | | 1 Teregna (Patra M.) |

These coins should be seen under 1915

EXTRA

PESHAWAR, RAWALPINDI

SWAT, TAKILAN

D. Prasad

14 (C) of 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

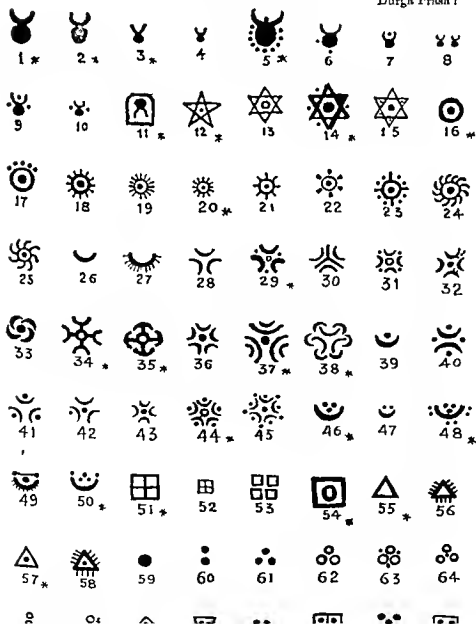
GROUP CLASSIFICATION OF SYMBOLS ON THE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET.

PLATE XXI

| Serial No | Class | Symbols on the Obverse side | | | | | Symbols on Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-----------|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------------|-------|--|
| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | | | |
| 132 | 42A ₁ | | | | | | | | Hasanabdal Peshawar |
| 132A | 42A ₂ | | | | | ? | | | Rawalpindi —o— Jaunpur |
| 133 | 42B ₁ | | | | | | | | Hasanabdal (Mr Martin) No 2612 —o— |
| 134 | 43A ₁ | | | | | | | | Lucknow Taxila 18 A —o— |
| 135 | 43B ₁ | | | | | | | | Ghorhoghat No 54 53 Patna M C A I, Pl 1, No 11 —o— |
| 136 | 43B ₂ | | | | | | | | Ghorhoghat No 53 Patna M —o— |
| 137 | 44A ₁ | | | | | | | | Peshawar Rawalpindi —o— |
| 138 | 44A ₂ | | | | | | | | Peshawar Hasanabdal —o— |
| 139 | 41A ₁ | | | | | | | | Hasanabdal Mr Martin No 2627 —o— |
| 140 | 41A ₂ | | | | | | | | Ahaura, Dist Mr Srinath —o— |
| 141 | 29D ₁ | | | | | | | | Jaunpur —o— |
| 142 | 38A ₂ | | | | | | | | Nagpur M Srinath Sah —o— |
| 143 | 40L ₁ | | | | | ? | | | Mr Srinath Ahaura The smallest coin Durga Pd |

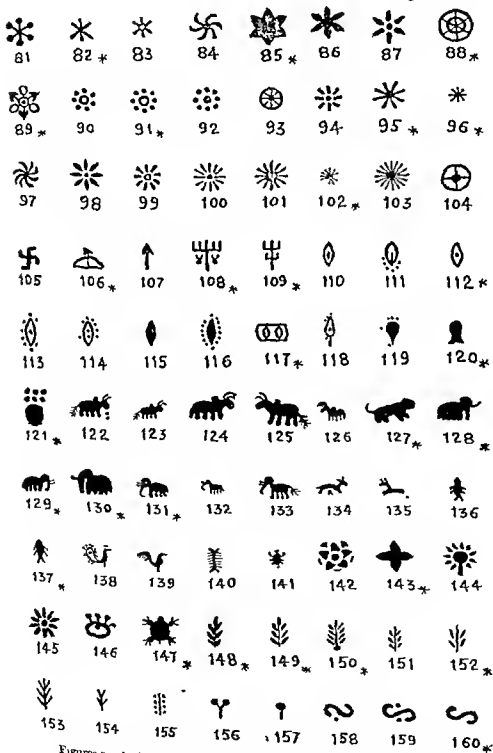
VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE EARLY SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS

FOUND LOCALITY

PLATE XXX
Durga Prasad

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS

FOUND LOCALLY

PLATE XXIII
Durga Prasad.

Figures marked with asterisks are found on the Obverse side of the Coins

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE EARLY SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS

FOUND LOCALLY.

PLATE XXIII.
Durga Prasad.

Figures marked with asterisks are found on the Obverse side of the Coins

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE PUNJA SILVER
PUNCH MARKED COINS

FOUND LOCALLY

PLATE XXIV
Durga Prasad

Figures marked with asterisks are found on the Obverse side of the Coins

SYMBOLS ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THE SILVER PUNCH
MARKED COINS OF THE MIDDLE AND LATE PERIODS

FOUND THROUGHOUT INDIA

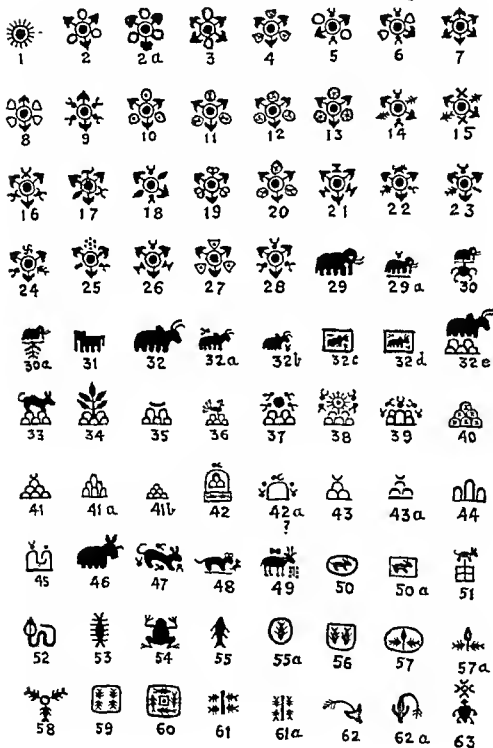
I LATE XXV
Durga Prasid

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE LATER SILVER
PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

PLATE XXVI.

OBSERVE SYMBOLS, FOUND THROUGHOUT INDIA

Durga Prasad.



VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE LATER SILVER
PUNCH MARKED COINS

PLATE XXVII

OBVERSE SIDE FOUND THROUGHOUT INDIA

Durga Prasad



SIMILARITY OF SYMBOLS OF THE SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS TO THOSE FOUND ON THE MOHENJODARO SEALS

PLATE XXVIII

1933
























D Prasad

| Mohenjodaro Symbols | | Punch marked Coin Symbols | | Mohenjodaro Symbols | | Punch marked Coin Symbols | |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Last No and Seal No | Symbols | Symbols | Plate and Fig No | Last No and Seal No | Symbols | Symbols | Plate and Fig No |
| CCXCVI SEAL 424 | | | XXII Fig 51 | CXLVIII SEAL 341 | | | XXV Fig 37 |
| CCC I SEAL 444 | | | XXII Fig 70 | LXXVII SEAL 367 | | | XXIII Fig 93 & XXV Fig 39 |
| CCXCVII SEAL 552 | | | XXV Fig 96 | XV SEAL 211 | | | XXIV Fig 173 |
| CCLVI SEAL 469 | | | XXIII Fig 108 | VIII SEAL 366 | | | XXV Fig 98 |
| CCLXI SEAL 374 | | | XXVII Fig 97a | CXXXIX SEAL 412 | | | XXV Fig 118 |
| CCCXXXI SEAL 540 | | | XXIV Fig 196 | CXCII SEAL 253 | | | XXVI Fig 52 |
| CCCL SEAL 395 | | | XXIII Fig 137 XXVI Fig 55 | CXCIII SEAL 102 | | | XXVII Fig 124 |
| XLVIII SEAL 188 | | | XXV Fig 87 | CLXXXII SEAL 252 | | | XXVII Fig 111a |
| XLIX SEAL 349 | | | XXIII Fig 112 XXIII Fig 113 | CCXIII SEAL 548 | | | XXV Fig 101 |
| L SEAL 236 | | | XXIII Fig 110 XXV Fig 87a | CCXVII SEAL 259 | | | XXII Fig 1 |
| LXIII SEAL 235 | | | XXIII Fig 114 | CCLXXXIII SEAL 101 | | | XXII Fig 30 |
| LXXXVII SEAL 253 | | | XXIII Fig 117 | CCCXXIV SEAL 540 | | | XXII Fig 106 |
| LXXXII SEAL 58 | | | XXIII Fig 118 | CCCXXIX SEAL 340 | | | XXVII Fig 122 |
| CXX SEAL 452 | | | XXII Fig 53 | CLIX SEAL 225 | | | XXIII Fig 107 |
| CXLVII SEAL 341 | | | XXIII Fig 88 | | | | |

SEE SIR J MARSHALLS MOHENJODARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION VOL. III

RESEMBLANCE OF SOME OF THE FIGURES FOUND ON THE
SILVER PUNCH MARKED COINS TO THOSE ON THE
MOHENJODARO SEALS

PLATE XXIX

| No | Reference to Plate No Seal No | Seals | Figures on Coins | Reference to Plate No Coin No Fig No Plate No |
|----|--|---|---|---|
| 1 | Plate CXXI Fig No 20 Vol III |  |  | Pl X No 20 Fig Pl XXVII No 65 |
| 2 | Plate CXXI Seal No 14 and Plate CXXIII Seal No 10 Vol III |    |        | (1) Pl XIII No 52 (2) Pl IX No 37 (3) Pl X No 19 15 (4) Pl XVII No 87 (5) Pl XV No 68 (6) Pl XII No 32 (7) Pl XX No 128 Fig Pl XXVI No 55 99 46 48 54 32 and No 83 |
| 3 | Plate CXXI Seal No 1 and Plate CXXIII Seal No B 4 th Vol III |  |     | (1) Pl XXI No 123 (2) Pl XXI No 134 (3) Pl V No 72 Fig Pl XXVII No 132 133 Pl XXVI No 49 |
| 4 | Plate CXXI No 514 and No 502 |  |   | Plate II Rev No 3 Pl XXIII No 40 Pl XXVII No 110 Pl XVI No 85 |
| 5 | Plate CXXI No 5 th B |  |   | Fig 269 Theobald Pl XXV No 110 (A Reverse Fig) |

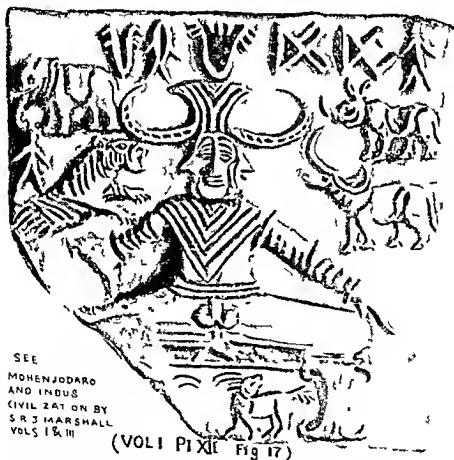
See Sir J. Marshall's Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization Vol III



NO 97

VOL
III

NO 339



502



512



513



528b

Pl CXIV

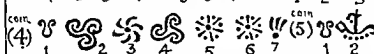
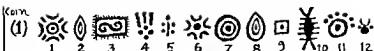
SYMBOLS FOUND ON THE 25 SILVER COINS SIMILAR TO THOSE
OF LUCKNOW MUSEUM OBTAINED FROM MATHURA
BY THE AUTHOR

PRE MAURYAN SURASENI COINS

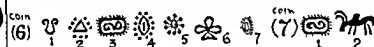
SUPPLEMENT
PLATE XXXIThe 4 Obverse Symbols
found on all the 25 Coins

Reverse Symbols found on the twenty five Coins

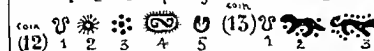
1



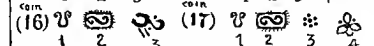
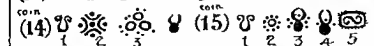
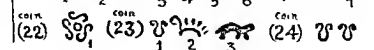
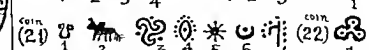
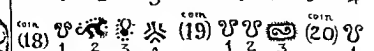
2




























































3



4

COIN
ob



















GROUP CLASSIFICATIONS OF SYMBOLS ON THE
SILVER P.M. COINS.SUPPLEMENT
PLATE XXXII

| Serial No | Class | Obverse Symbols | Reverse | Coins | Obtained from |
|-------------|-------------------|---|---|---|---------------|
| 144 5A | 3A ₂ |      |   | | Lucknow |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 145 | 19A ₁ |      | ? | | Lucknow |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 146 | 20A ₁ |      |   | | Lucknow |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 147 | 11A ₁ |      |  | | Lucknow |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 148 | 38A ₃ |      | ? |  | Lucknow |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 149 103A | 41A ₁₂ |      |   |  | Ahaurra |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 150 132A | 42B ₁ |      | ? |  | Ahaurra |
| 151 44A | 24A ₂ |      | 0 | see | Teregna |
| | —0— | | | | —0— |
| 152 17A | 8B ₂ |      |   | see | Teregna |

Durga Prasad

VARIETIES OF SYMBOLS FOUND ON LATER SILVER PUNCH-
MARKED COINS IN THE AUTHOR'S CABINET

Obverse Symbol.—Supplement

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 137 | 138 | 139 | 140 | 141 | 141A | 142 | 143 | 144 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 145 | 146 | 147 | 148 | 149 | 150 | 151 | 152 | 153 |

Among the many problems of Āndhra numismatics, that which presents the greatest possibility of ultimate solution appears to be the reconciliation of the names of the kings represented in the Chānda hoard with those rulers who struck coins of fabric A in Āndhradeśa, and with the later kings given in the Pauranic lists.

The three coins displayed to day are all of interest in this connection. They are part of a fine series of Āndhra coins which I purchased recently from Mr P Thorburn.

(1) Pulumāvi—from Chānda hoard

Obv —Elephant standing r with trunk upraised,
diminutive rider on back.

Legend — Śiva Śrī Pūluma(ṛisa)

Rev —Ujjain symbol, pellet in each orb

The reading 'Śiva' is perfectly clear on this coin, which confirms a reading proposed by Dr Hoernle (*P.A.S.B.*, 1893, p 117) which was doubted by Professor Rapson (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903 p 305). The point is of interest as the name Śiva Śrī is found in the Puranas.

(2) Pūlumaṇi—Coin of Andhradeśa fabric A

Obv —*Caitya* of three arches with wavy line beneath

Legend —' (Rāṇo Vasithu) pu(tasa) Śiva
Śrī Pūlumaṇi(sa) '

Rev —Ujjain symbol dot and circle in each orb

The reading Śiva Śrī is again clear on this coin. Coins Nos 88 and 89 on Plate V of the British Museum Andhra catalogue are defectively struck and do not show this part of the legend. The use of the same title on coins (1) and (2) confirms Professor Rapson's statement that both types were struck by the same ruler.

(3) Rudra Sātakarni—Coin of Āndhradeśa fabric A

Obv —*Caitya* of 3 arches, surmounted by a
crescent wavy line beneath

Legend — putasa śrī Rudra
Sa(takarnsa) '.

Rev —Ujjain symbol, dot and circle in each orb

(61 N)

On General Pearse's specimen, illustrated in B M C, VII, No G P S, the name 'Rudra' was only read conjecturally by Professor Rapson. It is clear on this example

Though I have compared the reading 'Siva Śri' on coins (1) and (2) with the name 'Śiva Sri' given by the Matsya Purāṇa as the 25th king of the dynasty, it must not be thought that I advocate the allocation of the coins to this king. The following three consecutive names occur in the Matsya Purāṇa —

- 23 Gautamputra
- 24 Puloma
- 25 Siva Śri

Of these the first is the conqueror of Nahapāna. Inscriptions Nos 7-9 in the introduction of the B M C give the titles 'Gautamputra Sri Sātakarni' and these are repeated without alteration on the coins he restruck on silver drachms of Nahapāna.

The second king is the 'Vāsisthiputra Sri Pulumāvi' of inscriptions Nos 13 14, and 16. Coin No 2 of Andhradeśa fabric A gives the titles 'Vasisthiputra Siva Śri Pulumāvi' and the Chanda hoard coins read 'Śiva Sri Pulumāvi' or 'Sri Pulumāvi'. He is also mentioned by Ptolemy as ruling at Paithan, being a contemporary of *Castana*. Other inscriptions give his name as Vāsisthiputra Svāmī Sri Pulumavi.

The third ruler is the 'Vasisthiputta Siva Śri Sātakarni' of the coins of Andhradeśa fabric A and the 'Vāsisthiputra Sri Sātakarni' of Rapson's inscription No 17, whose queen was a daughter of the Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman.

MAYN0,

M F C MARTIN.

10th November 1933

319 SOME NEW DATES AND VARIETIES OF THE COINAGE OF
THE SULTĀNS OF MADURA

The coins that are described in the present paper form part of the big collection mostly South Indian, made by General Pearse and subsequently acquired for the cabinet of the Indian Museum. They constituted the currency of the Muslim rulers in the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula, called Ma'bar and are interesting to students of Numismatics as they contain some new dates and types.

The annals of Madura (or Ma'bar, as it was denominated by the Muhammadan historians) under her Muslim potentates were enveloped in the darkness of oblivion until about half a century ago, when the discovery of a number of coins of these Sultāns stirred the curiosity of European scholars like Dr. White King and Captain R. H. C. Tufnell who brought out the history of this forgotten kingdom. The meagre information contained in the narratives of Ibn i Batūta¹ the only contemporary writer, served them as a nucleus to build up the chronology of the period. Later on Mr. C. J. Rodgers, the distinguished Numismatist, described² a number of coins bearing new names and dates and he was enabled to arrange the names of the rulers in proper succession. Finally Prof. E. Hultzsch assimilated all the previous notices on the subject and fixed³ the chronology of the princes of Madura so far as it could be ascertained. There are still some lacunæ in our knowledge of the names of the rulers and the periods of their reigns which have yet to be filled by future researches.

Madura the capital of the ancient Pandya kingdom is situated in the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula and was called by the Muslim annalists Mabar (lit. a pass, a ford) inasmuch as this tract with its sea ports on the west, south and east was the meeting ground of nations and people could cross over from it to Arabia, Ceylon and the Eastern Archipelago. It comprised under the Muslim occupation the whole area between the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts and from Cape Comorin up to Gulbarga.⁴

The rulers who held sway over this province may conveniently be classed into two distinct groups —

- (1) Those who were appointed by the Sultāns of Delhi and governed the country in the name of their

¹ *Travels of Ibn i Batūta* Vol. III p. 328 *ibid.*, Vol. IV pp. 188, 189.

² *J. A. S. B.* for 1895 pp. 49, 50.

³ *J. R. A. S.* for 1900 pp. 670-682.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* for 1909 p. 665.

Jalāl ud dīn Ahsan Shāh,

A H 734-40, A D 1333-39

Coin No 1 (mixed metal)



1



O

R

A H 734, weight 40 4 grams

Obv سلطان السلاطین (The king of kings)

Ret احسن شاه (Ahsan Shāh)

margin سبع و ثلث و سماء (The year seven hundred and thirty four)

A coin apparently of similar type, appeared in the list¹ of Mr C J Rodgers but the date portion being indistinct it remained undeciphered. In the present specimen, the date can be clearly read as 734. As this coin fixes the initial date of Ahsan Shāh's reign which is a year earlier than hitherto supposed, its importance cannot be exaggerated.

Ibn i Batūta mentions that Ahsan Shāh reigned in Madūra only for five years² but he is silent about the precise year when he assumed independence. The year 740 being decidedly the last date on his coins, the initial date of his reign as an independent Sultan was naturally fixed as A H 735. The present discovery of the date 734 in his coins creates an anomaly which may, however, be explained on the supposition that Ahsan Shāh, who since his arrival at Madūra as a Governor was *de facto* Sultan of the kingdom began to issue coins in his name from the year 734, though he may have deferred, for diplomatic consideration to proclaim himself sovereign openly till 735. Otherwise we must suppose that the duration of the reign as stated by Ibn i Batūta is only approximately correct.

Coin No 2 (Silver)



2



O

R

A.H. 735, weight 50 grams

Obv جلال الدنيا و الدين (Jalāl ud dunyā wad dīn)

Ret احسن شاه (Ahsan Shāh, 735)

¹ *J A S B*, 1895, pp 49-50² *Voyages of Ibn i Batūta* Vol IV, p 189

This is a new date which has not so far been published. Mr. Rodgers is said to have seen¹ a coin of Ahsan Shāh with this date, but did not substantiate his statement by illustrating it.

Coin No. 3 (Silver).



3



O

R

A.H. 739 ; weight 49 grains.

Obr. احيى شاه (Ahsan Shāh, 739).

Rev. الحسى (The descendant of Husain)

Desikāchārī mentions a specimen bearing this date, in his possession, but it has not been illustrated

Ahsan Shāh was killed apparently early in A.H. 740 and the throne was seized by one of his nobles, 'Alāuddīn Udayī. He reigned about a year only and was slain by a stray arrow which he received when removing his helmet after victory over the 'infidels',² probably the neighbouring Pandya or Kerala Chiefs, with whom constant warfare was going on. Udayī was succeeded by his son-in-law, Qutb ud dīn Fīroz Shāh who was put to death after forty days of his accession to the throne. The coins of both Udayī and Qutb ud dīn in the Indian Museum collection bear the date 740. The next Sultān was Ghīyās ud dīn Muhammad Dāmaghān Shāh, son in law of Ahsan Shāh. He was apparently an able ruler. Ibn i Batūta dwells at length on some of this prince's atrocious crimes which made him extremely unpopular. It is not clear either from the narratives of Ibn i Batūta or from his coins how long Ghīyās-ud-dīn continued to rule. His coins hitherto discovered gave only the date 741 while some specimens are without date. On his death, the throne was seized by Nāsīruddīn, once a domestic servant at Delhi and a nephew of Ghīyās ud dīn Dāmaghān Shāh, under the title of Mahmūd Ghāzī Dāmaghān. The only date that appears on his coins is 745. Ibn i Batūta left Madūra during the reign of this prince and with him the literary source of information relating to the annals of the Sultāns of Madūra ceases. The remaining rulers of this dynasty are known exclusively from their coins. The next ruler was 'Adīl Shāh whose coins bear the date 757, no other date has hitherto been discovered on his coins.

¹ *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 673

² *Voyages of Ibn i Batūta*, Vol. IV, p. 189

sovereign This period extended from 1311 to 1333 A D i.e. nearly 23 years

- (ii) Those who threw off the yoke of allegiance to the Delhi empire and ruled the province as independent kings from 1313 to 1377 A D

The annexation of the Madura province to the Delhi empire was first effected in the time of Alauddin Khilji the Delhi Sultan on the plea of assisting Sundar Pandya the Pandyan prince against his brother Vira Pandya who had driven away the former and occupied the kingdom An expedition was sent headed by the renowned general Malik Kafur who on his approach found Madura the capital of the Pandyan kingdom evacuated by Vira Pandya Kafur entered the city without much opposition plundered the valuables and returned to Delhi with a fabulous booty A lieutenant was left behind at Madura to govern the country on behalf of the Delhi Sovereign This system of ruling the province by appointing governors from time to time continued up to the early years of Muhammad III bin Tughlaq (A D 1325-1351) It is regrettable that the names of officers holding charge of the Madura dependency under the Sultans of Delhi should not have been carefully recorded in any contemporary historical works Ibn i Batuta is also silent on this point

The second chapter in the history of Madura begins with the appointment of Jalal ud din of Kaithal (probably the city of that name in the South Punjab) by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to the government of the province He claimed descent from the family of Muhammad the prophet and was accordingly styled *Sharif* and *Sayyid* ¹ Ibn i Batuta the renowned Moorish traveller was his son in law Jalal ud din was an ambitious general and as was usual in Muslim India the provincial governors were ever anxious to assume independence as soon as the opportunity presented itself and he was no exception to it Taking advantage of the wide spread discontent and discord prevailing in the empire Jalal ud din threw off his allegiance to the throne of Delhi in the year A H 734=1333 A D (according to some historians in A H 735) and proclaimed himself Sultan under the style of Jalal ud din Ahsan Shah and thus laid the foundation of a kingdom which lasted for nearly half a century He struck coins in his own name and arrogated to himself the lofty title of *ملك الملوك* (the king of kings) ² From the assumption of such an overbearing title it is apparent that he had before declaring his independence sufficiently strengthened his position by subduing the neighbouring Hindu

¹ *Voyages of Ibn i Bat ta* Vol III pp 398 337 *Ib d* Vol IV pp 189 190 *00

² *Com* No 1

States who failed to offer any united resistance by reason of their mutual jealousy and civil strife

Ibn i Batūta who resided for some time in the Court of Ghiyāsuddīn Damaghān Shah gives the name of five kings¹ viz—(1) Jalāluddīn Ahsan Shah (circa 1333-39 A D) (2) 'Alauddīn Udayi (1339 A D) (3) Qutbuddīn Fīroz (1339 A D), (4) Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad Damaghān (circa 1340-44 A D), and (5) Nasiruddīn Mahmud Ghāzi (circa 1344-56 A D) Modern researches have enabled scholars to add as many as three to this number viz—(6) 'Adil Shah (circa 1356-58 A D) (7) Fakhruddīn Mubārak (circa 1358-68 A D) and (8) Sikandar Shah (circa 1368-1377 A D)

The independent rulers of Madura struck coins in their own names in silver copper, billon and probably in gold also as will be evident from the lists of Mr C J Rodgers² and Prof E Hultzsch³ According to Ibn i Batuta⁴ Jalāl ud dīn Ahsan Shah the founder of the dynasty issued a gold coin on one side of which was impressed the inflated legend—

سلاطه و نس - ابو الفراء و المساكن حلال الدنيا

و الدس *

(The offspring of Taha and Yasun the father of the poor and the indigent Jalāl ud dīn) but no specimen of this kind is known to be represented in any collection The currency of Madura presents several varieties which differ from the Delhi currency in respect of execution and weight The former consists generally of small pieces some variety of which is apparently of superior execution to the latter The weights of the silver coinage of these Sultāns vary so far as can be ascertained from known collections from 33 to 47 grams whereas the copper and billon issues follow approximately the same standard ranging from 68 to 21 grams The standard weight in the silver currency was fixed at 140 grams⁵ by Muhammad bin Tughlāq though mixed metal coins of lower weight are not uncommon On the other hand the gold and copper currency in the south before the arrival of the Muslims ranged from 52 to 16 grams⁶ Thus shows that the metrology of the coinage of the Sultāns of Madura was probably influenced by that of the neighbouring Hindu States

¹ 10 pages of Ibn i Batuta Vol IV pp 189-90-93

² J L S B Part I 1895 p 49-50

³ J R A S for 1909 pp 6-83

⁴ 10 pages of Ibn i Batuta Vol III p 38

⁵ J M C Vol II Part I p 9

⁶ Nisāla Orētalā Cās of Sūthern Itālā pp 358

Jalal ud din Ahsan Shah

A H 734-40 A D 1333-39

Coin No 1 (mixed metal)



1



O

R

A H 734 weight 40.4 grams

Obv سلطان اللامى (The king of kings)

Rev centre احسان شاه (Ahsan Shah)

margin سنة اربع و ثمان و ستين (The year seven hundred and thirty four)

A coin apparently of similar type, appeared in the list¹ of Mr O J Rodgers but the date portion being indistinct it remained undeciphered. In the present specimen the date can be clearly read as 734. As this coin fixes the initial date of Ahsan Shah's reign which is a year earlier than hitherto supposed its importance cannot be exaggerated.

Ibn i Batuta mentions that Ahsan Shah reigned in Madura only for five years² but he is silent about the precise year when he assumed independence. The year 740 being decidedly the last date on his coins the initial date of his reign as an independent Sultan was naturally fixed as A H 735. The present discovery of the date 734 in his coins creates an anomaly which may however be explained on the supposition that Ahsan Shah who since his arrival at Madura as a Governor was *de facto* Sultan of the kingdom began to issue coins in his name from the year 734 though he may have deferred for diplomatic consideration to proclaim himself sovereign openly till 735. Otherwise we must suppose that the duration of the reign as stated by Ibn i Batuta is only approximately correct.

Coin No 2 (Silver)



2



O

R

A H 735 weight 50 grams

Obv جلال دینا و دینا (Jalal ud dunya wad din)

Rev احسان شاه (Ahsan Shah 735)

¹ J A S B 1893 p 42 ob² Voyages of Ibn i Batuta Vol IV p 163

This is a new date which has not so far been published. Mr. Rodgers is said to have seen¹ a coin of Ahsan Shāh with this date, but did not substantiate his statement by illustrating it.

Com No 3 (Silver).



3



O

R

Δ H. 739 ; weight 49 grams.

Obv. احسان شاه ۷۳۹ (Ahsan Shāh, 739)

Rev الحى (The descendant of Husain)

Desikāchārī mentions a specimen bearing this date, in his possession, but it has not been illustrated

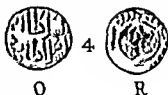
Ahsan Shāh was killed apparently early in Δ H 740 and the throne was seized by one of his nobles, 'Alāuddīn Udayī. He reigned about a year only and was slain by a stray arrow which he received when removing his helmet after victory over the infidel²; probably the neighbouring Pandya or Kerala Chiefs, with whom constant warfare was going on. Udayī was succeeded by his son in law, Qutb ud dīn Firoz Shāh who was put to death after forty days of his accession to the throne. The coins of both Udayī and Qutb ud dīn in the Indian Museum collection bear the date 740. The next Sultān was Ghīyās ud dīn Muhammad Dāmaghān Shāh son in law of Ahsan Shāh. He was apparently an able ruler. Ibn i Batūta dwells at length on some of this prince's atrocious crimes which made him extremely unpopular. It is not clear either from the narratives of Ibn i Batūta or from his coins how long Ghīyās ud dīn continued to rule. His coins hitherto discovered give only the date 741 while some specimens are without date. On his death, the throne was seized by Nāsiruddīn once a domestic servant at Delhi and a nephew of Ghīyās ud dīn Dāmaghān Shāh, under the title of Mahmūd Ghāzi Dāmaghān. The only date that appears on his coins is 745. Ibn i Batūta left Madūra during the reign of this prince and with him the literary source of information relating to the annals of the Sultāns of Madūra ceases. The remaining rulers of this dynasty are known exclusively from their coins. The next ruler was 'Adil Shāh whose coins bear the date 757. No other date has hitherto been discovered on his coins.

¹ J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 673

² Voyages of Ibn i Batūta, Vol IV, p. 189

Fakhruddin Mubarak Shāh

Coin No 4 (mixed metal)



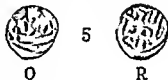
A H 760 weight 46.7 grams

Obv الملك السلام (The King of Kings)

Rev مبارک شاه - س - س و س - س (Mubarak Shah the year seven hundred and sixty)

According to the supposition of Prof E Hultzsch and others the next ruler Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah ascended the throne of Madura in 761 which is testified by Coin No 26 in Mr Rodgers list¹. The specimen (No 4) in the collection of the Indian Museum bears the date 760 and thus brings the initial date of Mubarak Shah a year earlier. It is further interesting to note that the piece represents a new type of this Sultan in which the legend is in Arabic while in his later issues it is found in Persian.

Coin No 5 (copper)



A H 764 weight 20.7 grams

Obv محمد مصطفى (Muhammad Mustafa)

Rev النى با صا (The pure Nabi)

Mr Rodgers No 21 and Prof Hultzsch's No 22² represent this type but the date on their coins is 760. Mr Desikachari's No 21³ is said to bear the date 764 but has not been illustrated.

There is a divergence of opinion among Numismatists as to the reading of the legend on the reverse of this specimen. Mr Rodgers did not offer any reading whatever. Prof E Hultzsch was inclined to read it ناصب النى (Nasifun Nabi) while Mr Desikachari's reading is النى با صا (An Nabi i basafā). I prefer the latter reading on two grounds: firstly that the initial word in the second line on the reverse is ن which may be read either ن (Na) or ب (ba) by adding either above or below it a

¹ J.A.S.B. 1893 pp 49-50² J.R.A.S. 1909 p 681³ Ibid

طه (dot) which is absent here, but the terminal portion of the letter ف (Fā) in صفا (Safā) has been raised to a considerable height indicating that it is but the letter الف (Alif) and not a flourish of the letter ف (Fa) secondly, the legend on all the specimens of this type is in Persian while ناسفون (Nasifun Nahu) would be purely Arabic which is untenable

The dates that have so far been found on the coins of Mubarak Shāh range successively from 760 to 770 with the exception of the years 762 and 766

The last Sultan of this short lived dynasty was Sikandar Shah whose coins are dated in 774 and 779 but no coin of the intermediate period has ever come to light. The epigraphical records of the South reveal that the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was at that time rapidly growing in power and had overshadowed the Muslim rule in Madura¹. In an inscription² of 1371 it is recorded that Goppana the General of Bukha I the 3rd king of the first Vijayanagar dynasty defeated the Turushkas, i.e. the Muslim army and it is probable that the final extinction of Muslim power in Madura was effected by this king and most likely in the year 779 (= A.D. 1377) which is the latest date found on the coin of Sikandar Shāh

In conclusion I would like to point out the gaps still existing in the chronology of the Muslim Sultans of Madura viz from 742 to 744 746 to 756 758 to 759 771 to 773 and 775 to 778. It is probable that the state of continuous warfare between Madura Sultans and the rising Vijayanagar power was responsible for some of these lacunae

SHAMSU D DİN AHMAD

¹ *Cambridge History of India* Vol III p 150

² *Epigraphia Indica* Vol VI p 330

Janjira is a state within the political agency of Kolaba in the Konkan district Bombay. The original name was 'Javira' meaning 'an island', but the present name is its corrupted form under the Maratha influence. The state was founded by an Abyssinian (i.e. an Habshi) about the year 1189 and is still under the sway of a Sidhi chief, entitled 'Nawāb of Janjira'. The state was under Bijapur for sometime and during the reign of Aurangzeb it passed under the Mughals. During both these periods the Sidhis served as the chief admirals of Deccan and were in charge of the Muslim Naval Power in the Indian Ocean. But after the fall of the Mughal Empire this state had also to face the disturbing elements of the Maratha invasions and English aggressions. The former could never establish their superiority over the Sidhis while the latter could succeed in bringing them under the British suzerainty only in the year 1869.

As regards the coinage of this state practically nothing has yet come to light. In Volume IV of the Indian Museum Catalogue (Page 213) a solitary coin of Ibrahim Khan III (1848-79 A.D.) is described and illustrated. It bears the usual legend of the Emperor Shahi Alam with a small counter mark "ज" (ja) in the Devanagari character which it is said stands for Janjira. The authority of Prinsep's Useful Tables is cited in support of this identification and his mention of the Currency of Ankushi and Habshi rupees at this place is quoted. This however does not appear to be quite correct. But as long as no other evidence is brought to light this theory of ja (which is also a mint mark of Marathas) has to be allowed to continue to mark the Janjira coins in case of silver issues.

As regards the copper issues of this state it may be said with certainty in view of the specimens that we have before us that none of them bear any counter mark in the Marathi or Devanagari script.

Unfortunately we have not got a large collection of dated coins but all that we have so far go to show that the Sidhis were striking their own coins till as late as the year 1867-68 A.D. from the dates 1284 and 85 A.H. which clearly appear on some of the coins.

These specimens are taken from two collections (1) the Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum and (2) that of Mr. Gadgil. A collective study of both these collections which consists of about 50 coins has proved very useful in pursuing this study.

The coins are of the three rulers viz (1) Sidhi Ibrahim Khan II (1789-92 and 1804-1826) (2) Sidhi Muhammad Khan (1826-

1848) and (3) Sidi Ibrahim Khān III (1848-1879) but only the coins of the last mentioned Nawab bear two dates the years 1284 and 1285 A H which correspond with 1867 C S A D

As regards the legend on the coins it is interesting to find that though the Nawabs of Janjira were in no way under the control of the Mughal Emperors they had to follow the usual practice of striking the coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor but they were bold enough to strike their own names as well on the coins

So on the coins of Ibrahim Khān II who ruled from the year 1789 to 1796 with a break of about twelve years we find the inscription *سیدی ابراہیم خاں* on one side and *عالمگیر بادشاہ* on the other. On some coins Shah Alam's name (*عالم*) is also inscribed in place of Alamgir.

This ruler was as a matter of fact a contemporary of Shah Alam II and came to the throne in the 31st year of that Emperor but still we find the name of the previous Emperor Alamgir II (1754-59) on some coins. This leads one to surmise that ignoring the death of Alamgir II and the subsequent change on the throne of Delhi the mint officers at Janjira first continued to strike coins in the name of that ruler but afterwards replaced it by the name of Shah Alam II. But this surmise is nullified by the fact that even on the coins of his successor Sidi Muhammad Khān we find the name of Alamgir on one side and his own name on the other side. The size weight and type of the coins of this ruler are quite similar to those of his predecessor.

Then we come to the second Sidi Ibrahim. It is not possible to say at this stage whether or not he struck coins like those of his predecessors but we have a series of coins of the later years of this ruler on which it is found that the Imperial name is altogether omitted.

On these coins we see —

سید محمد در ملک کوکس on the obverse i.e. the King Ibrahim Muhammad Khān struck coin in the country of Konkan in the year 1284 and *بامر موصی بود اله الصمد*. By the order of the Chosen One (i.e. the Prophet) and the help of God—the Eternal One on the reverse.

These coins also have a crescent and some stars on both the sides.

One of these bears the date 1285.

It appears that the currency went on becoming more and more debased in subsequent years and it appears that the mint masters did their work very carelessly. We notice also that the calligraphy which was already crude becomes cruder still and the reverse is perhaps struck with an inverse die and consequently

the unprint bears inverted letterings which when put before a mirror shows the legend in its correct position.

It appears that this ruler made an attempt to distinguish his coins from those of his grandfather Ibrāhīm, by adding his father's name and hence the full name on these coins appears as Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Khān. Another distinction is that he drops the word *مردی* (*Tidwā*) meaning 'devoted servant' or 'a vassal' and replaces it with the word 'Shāh'.

These coins also enable us to correct the statement made in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XI (Kolāba and Janjira), page 449, in which it is said 'In 1834, the British Government declared Janjira to be subject to the British Power and in virtue of its supremacy, abolished the Janjira mint which issued a debased coinage', and safely substitute the date by 1869, when the Nawāb was deprived of his criminal jurisdiction and a resident British Officer with limited judicial powers was appointed to the Political charge of the state. By this treaty the Nawāb was bound to communicate all important matters to the British Government through this Political Officer and follow his advice.

R. G. GYANI

COINS OF JANJIRA



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



This coin was discovered in the ruins of the monastery at Paharpur during the course of excavations. The foundation of the establishment at Paharpur is attributed to Dharmapāla, the second king of the Pāla dynasty, who lived in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

The coin belongs to the Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn ar Rashid who was a contemporary of Dharmapāla. It was issued from the mint Al muhammadiya and bears the date A.H. 172 = A.D. 788.



O

Obv centre

R

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

margin

بسم الله صرف هذا الدرهم بالمحمدية سنة اثنان و سبعين و مائة هـ

Rev centre

سلام

محمد رسول الله

بما امره محمد

بن امر المؤمنين

صدر

margin

محمد رسول الله ارسل بالهدى و دين الحق لظهره على الدين

كله و لو كره المشركون هـ

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O

Obv centre



R

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

margin

بسم الله صرت هذا الدرهم بالمعدنة سنة اثنان و سبعين و مائة هـ

Rev centre

سلام
محمد رسول الله
عنا امره محمد
بن امر المؤمنين
صدر

margin

محمد رسول الله ارسل بالهدى و دين الحق لظهره على الدين
كله و لو كره المشركون هـ

In March, 1925, a dozen debased gold coins of the later Kushānas found in Hardoi district were acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. While listing them along with other coins of this type in the Museum collection, I discovered recently the name of a new chief who, like Kṛitavīrya, must



61



60



65



59



have ruled in the Punjab and other parts of North Western India during the fifth and sixth centuries. His name as is clear from the Brahmi legend which appears on the reverse of no less than five coins of the lot is Śrī Salonavīra. All the five coins have a close resemblance to a coin illustrated by General Cunningham in his 'Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians' Pl. VI-12, and assigned by him to Śrī Śilāditya. There appears to be a mistake in the reading of the reverse inscription on this coin.

The coins of the Lucknow Museum clearly show the name

Śrī Salonavīra on the reverse and the letters π/δ on the obv.

On grounds of general technique and the style of writing they undoubtedly belong to the lot of Kidara coins and as the find fortunately includes a coin of Śrī Kṛitavīrya, I am inclined to think that Śrī Salonavīra might have been a ruling chief a few years before or after Śrī Kṛitavīrya.

On the obv. we see the king standing at altar, a debased Brahmi legend *Kida* vertically under his left arm and Brahmi

π/δ on the right. The rev. has the throned goddess

The mint 'Al muhammadiya' which was established by the Caliph Al mansūr, in the year A H 148=A D 765, may be identified with the city of 'Ar Ray' which was destroyed by the Mongols of Persia in the 13th century A D

K N DAKSHIT

322. A NEW KIDARA CHIEF.

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have ruled in the Punjab and other parts of North Western India during the fifth and sixth centuries. His name as is clear from the Brahmi legend which appears on the reverse of no less than five coins of the lot is Śrī Salonavīra. All the five coins have a close resemblance to a coin illustrated by General Cunningham in his 'Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians' Pl. VI-12, and assigned by him to Śrī Śilāditya. There appears to be a mistake in the reading of the reverse inscription on this coin.

The coins of the Lucknow Museum clearly show the name Śrī Salonavīra on the reverse and the letters $\overline{\text{𑀘𑀓}}$ on the obv.

On grounds of general technique and the style of writing they undoubtedly belong to the lot of Kidara coins and as the find fortunately includes a coin of Śrī Kṛtavīrya, I am inclined to think that Śrī Salonavīra might have been a ruling chief a few years before or after Śrī Kṛtavīrya.

On the obv. we see the king standing at altar, a debased Brahmi legend *Kida* vertically under his left arm and Brahmi $\overline{\text{𑀘𑀓}}$ on the right. The rev. has the throned goddess

Ardochsho a debased marginal Brahmi legend and Śrī Salonavira or Śrī Salona

| | <i>Obv</i> | <i>Rev</i> |
|---------|------------|----------------|
| No 6905 | 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 | Śrī Salonavira |
| , 6906 | Do | Śrī Salona |
| , 6907 | — | Do |
| , 6910 | — | Do |
| , 6911 | 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 | Do |

DESCRIPTION

| | <i>Obv</i> | <i>Per</i> |
|---------|--|--|
| No 6904 | King standing at altar de based Br legend Kṛta ver tically under his arm | Throned Ardochsho, de based, marginal Br legend gone |
| 6905 | Do 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 | Do Śrī Salonavira |
| 6906 | Do do | Do Śrī Salona |
| 6907 | Do — | Do do |
| 6908 | Do † | Do |
| 6909 | Do 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 | Do |
| 6910 | Do — | Do Śrī Salona |
| 6911 | Do 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 (clear) | Do do |
| , 6912 | Do 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 ? | Do — |
| 6913 | Do — | Do Śrī Aptavira |
| 6914 | Do 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸 | Do |
| 6915 | Do | Do |

PRADIP DAYAL

On the 23rd of February, 1914 and on the days following, a collection of 132 Danish coins of Tranquebar was sold at Amsterdam under the direction of Mr Schulman, a well known numismatist and dealer in coins¹ This collection was part of the whole collection of Henry Thomas Grogan of London The catalogue of the whole collection, published by Mr Schulman, is the only catalogue describing Danish Coins Forty-seven specimens of these coins are reproduced in plates I and II at the end of the catalogue

In 1616 the *Dansk Ostindisk Compagni* (Danish East India Company) was formed at Copenhagen under the protection of King Christian IV The Danish merchants settled at Tranquebar—a small territory on the eastern coast granted to them by Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore, in 1620 In the following year the Danish Castle, the Dansborg, was being built The first company was dissolved in 1729 and in 1732 during the reign of Christian VI, a new company was formed called the *Dansk Asiatic Compagni* (Danish Asiatic Company) that lasted till 1839 In 1845, the Danish possessions in India were sold to England for 2 million kroner

During a short visit I paid to Tranquebar during the month of April, 1933, I tried to collect some Danish Coins, but I was not very successful Mr Malaiperumal Chettiar showed me a few coins he had collected and gave me three duplicates But an old Catholic of Tranquebar Mr G Thambusamy Pillai, offered himself to search for old coins and soon after he wrote to me that he had traced a representative collection, the owner of which was ready to sell it Finally this collection was acquired for the coin cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute during the month of October last It consists of 34 coins These coins along with the three coins presented by Mr Chettiar and another one existing in our collection for some time make 38 coins In this collection all the Danish Kings of the period 1620-1845 are represented

The Danes like to adorn their coins with monograms All the Danish Coins of Tranquebar bear at least one monogram, sometimes two Occasionally the King's monogram is doubled Some of the continental coins of Frederick VIII (1906-1912) have also a double monogram The monogram of the King, is formed with his initial and the figure of his reign The initials during this period are only two, for all the kings were called either Christian or Frederick alternately In the first case the

¹ Schulman, Collection Henry Thomas Grogan, pp 3-9

- 5 Dateless coin Copper 1 Kas

Obv As above

Rev The Company's monogram under a crown as above


- 6 Dateless coin Lead 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev As above

(This coin is much worn)


- 7 Dateless coin Lead 10 Kas

Obv The King's monogram  under a crown

Rev As above Below  i.e. 10 Kas

Frederick II (1690-1730)

- 8 Dateless coin Copper 1 Kas


Obv The King's monogram  i.e. F and I under a crown surrounded by dots

Rev The Company's monogram (much damaged)

Christian II (1730-1746)

- 9 Dateless coin Copper 1 Kas

Obv The King's monogram  under a crown

Rev The new Company's monogram  under a crown


- 10 Dateless coin Copper 2 Kas


Obv As above

Rev As above Under monogram ' between two dots viz 2 Kas

Frederick V (1746-1766)

- 11 1763 Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram  under a crown surrounded by dots

Rev The Company's monogram as above but the A on a higher level thus  On one side of

the monogram 17, on the other 63, i.e. the date 1763.
Below 4, i.e. 4 Kas.

- 12 1963. Copper. 4 Kas.

Obv. As above

Rev. As above.

13. 176 Silver Royalin


Obv. As above.

Rev. The Danish Coat-of-arms with three Norse lions current to left. Shield topped by a crown On one side 17. On the other, 6. Above Royalin in block letters.

Christian VII (1766-1808).


- 14 1768 Copper. 10 Kas.

Obv. King's double monogram  under a crown

Rev. Company's monogram  Below X

Kas. Below 1768 within a circle of dots



- 15 1770 Copper 4 Kas

Obv. King's monogram  under a crown

Rev. Company's monogram as No 11, with 17 to left and 70 to right, i.e. 1770 Below 4, i.e. 4 Kas

- 16 1777 Silver Royalin

Obv. King's monogram as above within a circle of dots

Rev. Danish Coat of-arms as No 13 with . 7 to left and 77 to right, i.e. 1777 Above Royalin in block letters, with  turned to left, thus 

17. 177 . . Copper. 2 Kas

Obv. As above. No circle of dots can be seen.

Rev. Company's monogram as No 15 with 17 to left and 7 . . to right Below 2, i.e. 2 Kas




- 18 1786 Copper 4 Kas


Obv. As above.



-IV.


Rev. Kas.

- 786

figure is placed inside the letter C, thus    In the second case the figure is intermixed with the initial I in thus

with  Similar monograms are also seen over the gates of the Tranquebar Fort. Over the royal monogram there is always a crown.

In other cases the initial is mixed with an R—the initial for *Rex*—and below it the Roman figure is placed between two strokes of the initial thus  

Sometimes the monogram is double, viz. two Cs or two Fs with two figures all intermixed for instance  as the

double monogram of Christian VII. The other monogram that sometimes occupies the reverse of the coin is the monogram of the Company. Since there were two companies with different names the monograms are also two. First the monogram was

 Afterwards it was changed thus  At

times this monogram is also covered by the royal crown. Putting aside other peculiarities which will be given in detail when describing the coins something must be said about the Danish Coat of arms. The silver coins have the Danish Coat of arms, representing three Norse lions running to the left, the whole shield being topped by a crown. On some copper coins one lion only is represented.

The coins current at Tranquebar had two different origins. The gold coins called ducats were struck at Copenhagen but evidently were destined to circulate in India as the reverse of one of the ducats of Frederick III clearly discloses, it bears a sail round which in block letters this inscription is read *Domino Providebit*, while on each side of the ship one discovers a syllable of this Latin word *tan dem*. All the other coins were struck at Tranquebar itself.

Among the coins minted at Tranquebar there is a gold coin of the type of the Hindu pagoda. It was struck during the reign of Christian VII.

The silver coins were first called *fano*, from the Tamil word *fanam* a small South Indian coin. (In the time of Frederick IV and Christian VI for instance.) Later on in the time of Frederick V these were called *Royaliner* and finally *Royalin*. But in the time of Frederick VI the word *fano* appears again.


The copper and lead coins were called *Kas* for *cash*. The first coins struck at Tranquebar were of lead. In 1667 the first copper coins were minted at Tranquebar. They were *double Kas* coins.

The Tranquebar silver coins were equivalent to $1/8$ of the ordinary *Sicca rupia* or to 80 Kas of copper.

The coins acquired for the Indian Historical Research Institute are, in their chronological order, the following —

Christian IV (1588–1648).

1. Lead 4 Kas.

Obv. The royal monogram 

Rev. The Dansborg Castle.

This is one of the very early issues, not existing in the Grogan Collection. Schulman nevertheless speaks of these issues as bearing the figure of the Dansborg Castle on the reverse. Our specimen shows the façade of the castle with a square door in the centre and three turrets on top.

Frederick III (1648–1670).

2. 1667 Copper 5 Kas

Obv. Royal cypher F3, not intermixed, under a crown, surrounded by two circles, one made by a continuous line, the other one of dots. Between these two circles to the right, the year 1667.


Rev. The Norse lion crowned surmounting a serpent, all surrounded by a circle of dots.

This is one of the coins of the first copper issue. It was not in the Grogan Collection.

Christian V (1670–1699)

3. 1680. Copper 1 Kas

Obv. The King's double monogram under a crown.

. On one side of the monogram 8, on the other 0, that makes 80, i.e. 1680.

Rev. The Company's monogram under a crown.

4. 1692. Copper 1 Kas

Obv. The King's double monogram under a crown as above.

Rev. The Company's monogram under a crown as above. To the right 6, and below 92, that makes 692, i.e. 1692.

19 1788 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Rev

Kas 1788 within a circle of dots

20 178 Silver Royalin

Obi As above

Rev Coat of arms as No 16 with 17 to left and 8 to right
Above Royalin in block letters (Worn)

21 1790 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above with a dot after number 7

Ret (IV)

(K)AS

(17)90 within a circle of dots

22 1800 Copper 4 Kas

Obi As above

Ret (IV)

Kas

1800

23 1782 Copper 6 Kas

Obv As above


Rev VI

Kas

82

Frederick VI (1808-1839)

24 1810 Copper 4 Kas

Obi The King's monogram  under a crown

Ret IV

Kas

1810

25 1816 Copper 10 Kas

Obv As above

Ret (V)

Kas

1816

- 26 1820 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev IV
 Kaa
 1820
- 27 1821 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev (IV)
 (Kaa
 1821
- 28 1831 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev IV
 Kaa
 1831, within a circle of dots
- 29 1832 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above within a circle of dots
Rev IV
 Kaa
 1832 within a circle of dots
- 30 1833 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev IV
 Kaa
 1833 within a circle of dots
- 31 1838 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev IV
 Kaa
 1838
- 32 1838 Copper 4 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev As above within a circle of dots
- 33 1838 Copper 10 Kaa
Obv As above
Rev * X *
 KAS
 1838, within a circle of dots

34 1839 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Ret IV
Kas

1839,* within a circle of dots

35 1839 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Ret As above
Very beautiful specimen

Christian VIII (1839-1848)

36. 1842. Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram



under a crown,

within a circle of dots

Rev IV
Kas
1842

37 1844 Copper 4 Kas

Obv As above

Ret IV
KAS
1844

38 1845 Copper 4 Kas

Obv The King's monogram as above but without
roman numerals

Ret (IV)
(K)AS
(1)845 within a circle of dots

This is the last coin struck at Tranquebar The Danish
possessions were sold to England the same year

H HERAS, S J

324 SOME RARE MUGHAL COINS IN THE STATE MUSEUM
HAIDARABAD (DECCAN)

ArcoI—At the meeting of the Numismatic Society held at Benares in 1928, I exhibited a coin of Farrukhsiyar issued from Aurangabad Mint dated 1123 A H and 7 R Y. At that time 1123 seemed to be a freak and obviously it is, as Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne in 1124 A H and all the coins that have been discovered till now bear the date 1124 or an after date. Consequently all the numismatists reckon his reign from 1124 A H. About three coins in our Cabinets go to prove that coins were struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar at least as early as 1123 A H if not 1122 A H.

History says that in 1123 A H Farrukhsiyar had claimed the throne for his father Azamush shān. But these coins and particularly the coin dated 1123 A H and 2 R Y suggests that Farrukhsiyar might have claimed the throne for his own self in 1122 A H.

I am describing here three coins dated 1123 A H because one of them bears the date 1 R Y the other 2 R Y (which suggests that Farrukhsiyar must have claimed the throne in 1122 A H). On the last one the R Y is cut. But all of them have been struck from different dies. According to Khān Khān Farrukhsiyar claimed the throne for his father in 1123 and after his father's death claimed the throne for his own self in the same year. This author says that Farrukhsiyar struck coins in his own name in the same year.



Obv

(سیر)

(ح) ق فرح

سکه ر (د)

(ار قص) ل ر سم و ر

ش

(ماد) بحر و ر ۱۱۲۳



Rev

مانوس

احد

سه خلوس

صر

ارکا (ت)



B



Obv.

Rev.

سیر

مانوس

حق فرح

میر

سکه زد

۲

ار فصل بر سیم و در

سه خلوس

شاه

صر

ماد بحر و بر ۱۱۲۳

ارکات



C



Obv.

Rev.

(حق فرح سیر)

مانوس

سکه (زد)

(سه) خلوس

ار فصل بر سیم و در

(صر)

شاه

ارکات

ماد بحر و بر ۱۱۲۳

Udgir (A neu Mint)—These two coins are from an unpublished mint, called Udgir. One of them is struck in the name of Aurangzeb and the other in the name of Farrukhsiyar. The following is my reading of the coins —



D



Obv

عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
شاہ
رد چو بدر میر
در حہاں

Rev

حلوس
س
(مانوس)
میت
۱۰۹۸
الطمر
دار قلعہ اودگیر



E



Obv

شاہ
حکمرور فرح (سیر)
رد ار فصل حق

Rev

مانوس
میت
سہ احد حلوس
اودگیر

On Aurangzeb's coin which is dated 1098 the mint name Udgur is followed by the epithet دار الطمر and قلعہ. It may be noted that after 1097 on the coins struck at Bijāpur the mint name is followed by the epithet دار الطمر. On the coin of Farrukhsiyar both the epithets are omitted.

Bankāpur Mint—Coins of Rafiud Darajat issued from this mint are known, but no coin has as yet been published which

bears the name Shams ud Din. The coin described here not only bears this name but also a new legend or couplet which has not been deciphered fully as yet and which is unpublished.

The following is my reading of the coin —



F



Obr

Ret

ربيع البرحات
جاء ۱۱۳۱ شمس الدين
ت
—
مہ حور

مانوس
—
مہ خلوس
—
صر
مکاپور

Sahrind Mint—The earliest published coin in the name of Aurangzeb from this mint is coin No. 1304 of the Indian Museum Catalogue. It is dated 1103 A H (R. B. Whitehead)¹. The coin described here is dated 1102 A H 34 R Y.



G



Obr

Ret

عالم گیر
۱۱۰۲
اورنگ زیب
شہ
رد چوندر میر
—
(در جہاں)

مانوس
—
۲۳
مہ خلوس
—
صر
سہرید

Sikākul Mint—Till now the mint Sikākul is represented only by two Emperors, Farrukhsiyar and Ahmad Shāh. The Hyderabad Museum Cabinets contain coins of Aurangzeb and Jahāndār Shāh, one each of 1100 A.H. and 36 R.Y. (Sic) and Hijri Year cut and ۱۱۰۰ R.Y. respectively. The couplet on Jahāndār Shāh's coin (yet to be deciphered in full) is new. The following is my reading of the coins:—



H



Obv.

عالم گیر

۱۱۰۰

اورنگ زیب

شاہ

رد چو بدر میر

سک

(در حہاں)

Rev.

مانوس

مید

۳۶

حلوس سے

(ضر)

سیکا کل



I



Obv.

چو صاحبقران

شاہ

جہادار شد باد

سک

جہاں

Rev.

مانوس

میمت

سنہ احد حلوس

ضرب

سیکا کل

Mumbai Mint—According to Mr. Whitehead, the earliest known issues from this mint are Rupees of Farrukhsiyar (see Introduction to Punjab Museum Catalogue, page 110). Our cabinet contains a unique coin issued from this mint by Farrukhsiyar's predecessor Jahāndār Shāh. The following is my reading of it.—



Obv

مهر و ماه ابو الفتح

۳۶۱۱



Rev

خلوس

میمست

ماوس

(صرب)

هـ

KHWĀJA M AHMAD

Note—The Hijri-Jul isolates stamped on the Arkāt Rupees of Farrukhsiyar are un doubted blunders. It is a mistake to suppose that these 'frecks' are found only in the Haidarābād State Museum or that they have not been published before. No less than six of them are registered in the P.M.C. (Nos. 2153, 2154). The three coins mentioned in this article are all described there also and Mr. Whitehead has not failed to notice the erroneous dating. Khwāfī Khān is a careless and slipshod writer and Sir Jadūth Sarkār and Mr. Irvine have shown that his chronology is confused, inconsistent, and unreliable. The literary evidence from other contemporary authors leaves little doubt that Farrukhsiyar did not 'claim the throne' before 1121 H. (vide Irvine, *Later Mughals* and my *Historical Studies on Mughal Numismatics*, 270-281). The Numismatic text in my is even more conclusive. Jahāndār Shāh Shāh 'Alam's coins of 1121 H. are all in our museum. The only known coins of Aẓīmush-shāh are of 1124. 'Alī and his brothers of Farrukhsiyar's own coins from more than twenty mints postulate the fact that 1121 H. was his first full year and are serially dated accordingly. If these Arkāt Rupees are right, all these other coins must have been wrongly stamped—an unthinkable conclusion. The supposition that Farrukhsiyar claimed the throne at a time when not only his grandfather but his father was alive is historically preposterous or at any rate totally absurd. Khwāfī Khān himself explicitly states that he died shortly after he heard of the death of his father, which took place on or about 26th Rabi' al-Thani 1121 H. [S. H. B., 1311, 1312].

In 1902, Dr. G. P. Taylor, the veteran Numismatist, who may be called the original authority on the coins of Gujarāt wrote an exhaustive article on the subject. In that article Dr. Taylor has described five mint towns of the Gujarāt Sultans, the fifth one was read by Mr. H. N. Wright as Khānpur. Although various scholars have written about the Coins of Gujarāt Sultans, during the intervening thirty one years, no new mint towns have been noticed. It is therefore permissible to invite attention to three new mints which have been noticed by me while preparing the Catalogue of Coins of Gujarāt. These are :—(1) Dib (Diu in Kāthiāwād), (2) Burhānpur, which was read as Khānpur, and (3) Daulatābād (Baroda).

Now I will take up each mint, one after the other, and describe all those coins which bear the name.

(1) Dib, Div or Diu derived its name from the Sanskrit word *dīpa* an island, and in former times was a celebrated holding of the Chāvādā Rajputs. The total area of the whole island is about twenty-five square miles and there are eleven or twelve small villages, besides the town and the fort of Div. This island is said to have been the seat of the Chāvādā Rajputs in the 8th Century A.D. and was held by them till the 12th or 13th Century when they were ousted by the Vāghelās, who were in turn expelled by the Muhammadans in 1330 A.D., when Jaisingh Vāghela was conquered by them. In the time of Sultan Mahmūd Begāda of Gujarāt, Dib was distinctly a Muhammadan port. From its important position at the mouth of the gulf of Cambay, and because it was a port of call for vessels trading with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, this island rose into importance and was frequently the seat of the local Governor of the province instead of Junāghadh (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, pp. 289 and 434). Malik Ayāz, who was one of the great nobles of Sultan Mahmūd Begāda and who was famous for his impartiality and charitable habits, was then the Governor of Div. Although he was a slave bought with gold, he had the ability of an able administrator. He had a large tank of leather made for storing water and when his army was on the march, they took water from it. He laid out gardens in the island and built the fort of Div which was destroyed by the Portuguese by whom another was constructed in its place. There are numerous references in the contemporary histories which go to show that the Sultans of Gujarāt used to visit this island as a pleasure resort very frequently and even stayed there for months. After the death of Bahādur Shāh in 943 A.H., Div passed completely into the hands of the Portuguese.

Following are the coins which exhibit this mint

Mahmud Shah I 863-917 A.H

No 1 Silver 86 grs 8 size Mint Dib H 900

Obr In dotted circle السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدين محمد شاه

Rev In square محمد شاه السلطان

Margins —Left حقه

Top دب

Right به Taylor No 32

Bottom ۹

Outer linear and dotted circle

This coin was in the Collection of Dr G P Tavior

No 2 Silver 87 grs 7 size Mint Dib H 900

Obr As on No 1

Rev As on No 1

No 3 Silver 42 grs 5 size Mint Dib H 900

Obr As on No 1

Rev As on No 1

These two coins which originally belonged to Dr G P Tavior were purchased from Mr S M Contractor of Bombay

(2) Burhanpur (which was read as Khanpur) was founded by Nusr Khan Faruqy in honour of the famous Shaikh Burhan ud din of Daulatabad Khanpur or to give it its full name Khanpur Wankaner is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi midway between Baroda to the south and Dakor to the north and it is difficult to believe that a mint of the Gujarat Sultans existed at such an ordinary village Dr Tavior also admits that he failed to discover a single reference to this Khanpur in the histories of the reign of Muzaffar II and was unable to suggest any reason for that Sultan having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint On the other hand Burhanpur has played an important part in the history of Gujarat and the Faruqy Kings of Burhanpur used to pay tribute to the Sultans of Gujarat and owned allegiance to those monarchs There are numerous instances in history which go to show that Burhanpur was under the control of the Sultans of Gujarat and they had full authority in appointing officers to govern Burhanpur and Nusr Some of the references are given below —

طام شاه بحری و عادل شاه یحیور و هاشم رار و الملح پور

و قطب شاه گلکنده و راجه علی خان رهاپور بیست و پنج لک
 هون بطریق پیشکش می رسانیدند *

Mirāt i Ahmadi, p 23

Translation —

Nizām Shāh Bahmanī, Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, Hāshim of Berar and Elchpur, Quṭb Shāh of Golconda and Rājā 'Alī Khān of Burhanpur, used to send twenty five Lacs of 'Huns' every year as tribute

In the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Begda

در سه ۹۰۴۰ چوں بمقام تهالیر رسید بعد عید الصحی عالم
 خان اس احس خان را بمطاب عادل خان مخاطب ساخته چهار
 سلسلهٔ فیل و سه لک تسکجه امام فرموده بمحکومت اسیر و رهاپور
 تعیین فرمود *

Ibid, p 60

(At Thalner) after the Id ud duhā Ālam Khān the son of Ahsan Khān, was ennobled by the title of Ādil Khān and four elephants and three Lakhs of tankas were given to him and he was placed in the government of Āsir and Burhānpur

Mirāt i Sikandari, translated by
 Fazlullah Faridi p 77

In the reign of Muzaffar Shah II

و در همان محل عادل خان حاکم اسیر و رهاپور که به سلطان
 بیست دامادی داشت تا فرزندان آمده ملازمت حاصل نمود *

Ibid, p 62

At this camp A'zam Humāyūn Ādil Khān of the exalted throne, ruler of Āsir and Burhānpur who was the Sultan's son in law, came with his sons and waited upon the Sultan

Mirāt i Sikandari, translated by
 Fazlullah Faridi p 93

In the reign of Mahmūd Shāh III

تا بواهی رهاپور رسده بمبارک شاه پیغام نمود - که عماد
 الملک را گرفته به فرستد - چوں این معی از مبارک شاه معل

یامده قرار حگ داده - در حوالی دامگیری ، مرکز قال آراسته
 شد - مارک شاه شکست یافته پناه قلعه اسیر رُرد و ویلاں مای
 و ائانه سلطت او بدست سلطان محمود اُفاد - عماد الملک ار آتجا
 گریحه بمدو رد قادر شاه حاکم مالوه رفت - سلطان چند رور
 به رهاپور اقامت گریده - آخر الامر قرار صلح که خطه و سکه
 در رهاں پور و آسیر نام سلطان محمود ثانی بوده باشد .

Ibid , p 77

Darvā Khan took the Sultan in pursuit as far as the Burhānpur frontier and sent a message to Mubarak Shāh asking him to capture and send the traitor Imad ul mulk, and in case he did not, that his harbouring him would not bear good fruit. He collected his army and gave Darvā Khān and the Gujarāt Sultan battle at the Village of Dangri, a dependancy of Burhānpur but being defeated withdrew to the lofty fortress of Āsir. The famous elephants of Mubarak Shāh fell into the Sultan's hands. Thence the Sultan went to Burhanpur and 'Imad ul mulk fled and sought shelter with Kadir Shāh at Mandū the ruler of Malwa. The Sultan remained for some time at Burhānpur and eventually made peace, stipulating that the public sermon should be read and the coins struck in his name.

Mirat-i-Sikandar translated by
 Fazlullah Faridi p 211

The following coins are inscribed with this mint —

Muraffar Shah II 917-932 A.H

No 4 Silver 110 grs , 7 size, Mint Burhānpur, H 921

Obv المريد قائد الرحمي شمس القضا و الله امر الممر

Rev in scalloped circle مصر شاه السلطان و رهاپور ۹۲۱ .

No 5 Same as No 1, H 922

Obv As on No 1, but in dotted circle

Rev As on No 1, but date ۹۲۲ .

- No 6 Silver 111 grs 65 size Mint Burhānpur, n 923
Obi As on No 1
Rei As on No 1, but date ۹۲۲
- No 7 Silver 111 grs 7 size Mint Burhanpur n 924 ?
Obi As on No 1
Rev As on No 1 but date ۹۲۲

The mint town which was read as *مَدَن* is *مَدَن* being written in Shukasta' like *مَدَن* thus in my humble opinion

(3) *Daulatābad* One copper coin of Mahmud III which originally belonged to Prof S H Hodivala has got *Daulatābad* on the margin of the coin. On pages 61 and 62 of *Mirat-i Ahmadī* we find the following references to this place —
P 61

بعد چند روز سلطان (مُطَر) بطرف روده عریمت فرمود
و در صلح آن شهری موسوم بدول آباد آباد شود که به روده
اشبار دارد .

After some days the Sultan went in the direction of Baroda and in that district he founded a city which he named *Daulatābad* (which is known by the name of Baroda)

Mirat-i Sikandari translated by
Fazlullah Faridi p 92

P 65

همدرس اثنا سکری عارض سلطان شد - آخر الامر در همان
بیماری در سه ۹۳۲ هجری از شهر محمد آباد به روده عرف دولت
آباد آمده .

Translation —

Meanwhile the Sultan fell sick. At last in that sickness he came from Muhammadābad to Baroda alias *Daulatābad* in the year 932 H

From the above extracts it seems that Baroda was called *Daulatābad* and some coins were minted there. There is another *Daulatābad* near Auringābad which was the new Capital of Muhammad Tughlaq. But this *Daulatābad* has nothing to do with the Sultans of Gujarat and so we must find out a place which was within their dominions

Mahmūd Shah III, 943-961 A.H

No 8 Copper 145 grs 6 size Mint Daulatabad ?—

Obv الواثق بالله الملك ناصر الدنيا والآخرة*Rev* محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه الغياص

Top Margin دولت آباد

C R SINGHAL.

Note—The reading Burhanpur may be wrong or right but it is certain that Khanpur Wankaner was not an ordinary village. It was the most frequently used ford on the Mahi and as such occupied an important strategical position on the Gujrat Malwa frontier. Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah crossed the Mahi at Khanpur Wankaner when he marched to repel the invasion of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. (*Mirat-i-Sikandar* Tr Fazal 27-30) and Babadur Shah did the same in 932 A.H. and again in 937 A.H. (*Ibid* 153-164). During the Gujrat rebellion of 991 A.H. the Mughal general Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan sent a strong detachment to occupy and hold the ford of Khanpur Wankaner against the advance of the enemy (*Ibid* 318). Muzaffar II invaded Malwa in 993 A.H. and took Mandu in 994. A mint may have been established at Khaupur as the Sultan is said to have been making preparations for driving out the Hindus who had acquired great power in the province ever since 918 A.H. (*Ibid*. 95-96) [S H H Editor]

SOME NEW MINT TOWNS OF THE SULTANS OF GUJARAT



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



Mahmūd Shāh III, 943-961 A.H

No 8 Copper 145 grs, 6 size, Mint Daulatābad ?—

Obv .الواقع ماله الملك ناصر الدنيا والدين ام المص*Rev* محمد شاه بن لطف شاه اللطاف

Top Margin دولاباد .

C. R. SINGHAL

Note—The reading 'Burhanpur' may be wrong or right but it is certain that Khanpur Wankaner was not 'an ordinary village'. It was the most frequently used ford on the Mahi and as such occupied an important strategical position on the Gujrat Malwa frontier. Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah crossed the Mahi at Khanpur Wankaner, when he marched to repel the invasion of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. (*Mirāt-i-Sikandar* Tr. Fazal 27, 30) and Bahadur Shah did the same in 932 A.H. and again in 937 A.H. (*Ibid* 153, 164). During the Gujrat rebellion of 991 A.H. the Mughal general 'Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan sent a strong detachment to occupy and hold the ford of Khanpur Wankaner against the advance of the enemy' (*Ibid* 318). Muzaffar II invaded Malwa in 923 A.H. and took Mandu in 924. A mint may have been established at Khanpur as the Sultan is said to have been making preparations for driving out the Hindus who had acquired great power in the province ever since 918 H. (*Ibid* 95-96) [S. H. H., Editor]

326. CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PUNJAB MUSEUM, VOL. III.
COINS OF NAQIR SHĀH AND THE DURRĀNĪ DYNASTY,
BY R. B. WHITEHEAD, I.C.S. (RETD.)—A
REVIEW.

The monetary issues of the Durrānī rulers of Afghānistān are modelled on the currency of their predecessors, the Safavīs of Persia and their contemporaries, the Timūrīdes of Delhi. In design, style, and execution, in effective and artistic arrangement of the legends, in standard of weight and purity of metal, they are, as a rule, equal to the mintages of the 'Great Moguls' which have been sought after and studied with such ardour and enthusiasm during the last half century. Ahmad Shāh's grandson Zarnān was, like Muhammad Tughlaq, a 'great moneyer', and struck coins with a variety and profusion which would be inexplicable, if it were not remembered that the short-lived opulence and prosperity of the Abdālī dominion was founded upon the spoliation and pillage, the blood and tears of Hindustan. The double rupees of that ruler, the Bahāwalpur issues of Mahmūd and also of his rival Shuj'ā, the double Muhrs struck at Kashmir in the name of the provincial saint, Nūruddīn, are all coins of arresting beauty and worthy of the palmy days when Mughal artistry was at its zenith. It is therefore a matter of surprise and regret that these mintages have not received anything like the study and attention they deserve. The first serious attempt to describe them was made in 1835 by Mr. Rodgers who confined himself to the issues of the founder of the dynasty. This was followed by an article in the 'Numismatic Chronicle', 1888, in which Mr. Longworth Dames listed the coins of Ahmad's successors. The Catalogues of the Durrānī Cabinets of the museums of Lāhore (1891-1894) and Calcutta (1896) and of the private collections of Dr. White King and Mr. Eugene Leggett almost completely complete the scanty and scattered bibliography of these issues.

The preparation, therefore, of a Corpus of all the known mintages of this type was a desideratum and this useful and laborious task has been performed, with his characteristic thoroughness, scrupulous accuracy, and meticulous attention to every detail by Mr. R. B. Whitehead in the third volume of the 'Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum'. The nucleus of this Collection was the Durrānī Cabinet of Mr. Rodgers, which was purchased by the provincial government in the nineties of the last century. It remained stationary and very few additions were made until the fortunate discovery of the huge Bahāwalpur hoard in the old Bhatti stronghold of Derāwal. This lucky and phenomenal find contained 50,000 Muhrs and 400,000 Rupees and

The legends inscribed on the Mithrs and Rupcas of the Durrāms are, as a rule, in verse, grammolquent doggerel 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'. But they are occasionally neat and clever, and embody some quaint conceit, learned allusion or ingenious play upon words. Hitherto we were acquainted with only twelve or thirteen of these couplets, but Mr. Whithead has raised the number to twenty-five. Ten of these unpublished 'Baits', it is true have not been completely deciphered and two or three words in each of them it has not yet been possible to read, but these lacunae are sure to be filled up when more specimens come to light. Five out of these ten partially deciphered 'Baits' relate to the extremely rare issues of each of the 'Pretenders', Humāyūn, Qasr Kāmīrān, Pāth Jang, and Shāh-pūr Shāh. Three appear on those of another claimant Sulaymān. There is one also of Zūmīn (No. 779) and another of Shuy'ā (No. 1052) which it has not been possible to satisfactorily elucidate. But two new poetical legends of the same ruler—one of which (No. 1020) is an imitation of a distich of Farrukh sīyar (Whithead, P.M.C. No. 2130) and another resounding couplet (No. 1220) which could be made out only after comparing and collating four exceedingly rare specimens—have been published in full for the first time.

It will be seen that the volume before us is the most complete account of the Durrām Coinage and incomparably superior to anything and everything that has preceded it. It is the product of thirty years of patient and devoted labour and it may be safely said of Mr. Whithead that as regards the knowledge of these coins he has no equal or peer that I chuse is first and the rest nowhere. It may therefore savour of temerity to dare to differ from him or propose emendations or corrections. But the task must be nevertheless undertaken and the risk has to be run.

In the first place then may I venture to suggest that the rendering of 'the tedious Timur Shāh distich' is susceptible of improvement. It runs thus—

چرخ ی آرد طلا و قره ار خورشید و ماه
تا کد ر چهره هشت سکه تمور شاه

and is rendered as follows—

'The revolution of heavens brings gold and silver from the Sun and Moon

In order that it may *make* on the face of the metal the design of the stamp of Timur Shāh'

It will be seen that the second word of the second hemistich has been read as *Kunad*. But the fact that it is false is

was first examined and reported on by Mr Whitehead in 1909 (N S, XI, 69). It contained coins of all sorts but its preponderating constituent was the Durrani money. Almost every type, year, and mint of the three first rulers was represented in it and though the issues of the later Abdāls were not quite so abundant it contained many extremely rare or unique pieces which were first discovered there. The mintage of the Pretenders Sulaiman and Humayun, the Kabul and Ahmadshahi rupees of Qaisar, all the known specimens (except one) of the scarce 'Rikab' or 'Camp' Mint, and several other unique pieces came originally from Bahawalpur. The Punjab Government was not slow to avail itself of the 'happy opportunity' and make its Collection representative by acquiring as many of the rarer types and varieties as was possible. The Lahore Cabinet can now boast of possessing 53 gold 509 silver and 59 copper strikings of this dynasty. The volume before us however is not a Catalogue of this Collection only though it is a very fine one. The local Government have wisely authorized the incorporation in it of Durrani Coins from all existing sources public and private and the inclusion also of the coins struck in the name of Ahmad Shāh's master and precursor—Nadir—from the Mughal ateliers in India. The result is that Mr Whitehead's book is not a Catalogue but a Corpus in which no less than 1,327 coins—167 gold 1,007 silver, and 153 copper are described. It must be said however that 66 of them are 'numismatic records' of the devastation and terror spread by the invasion of the ferocious Afhar.

This is undoubtedly an enormous advance and its immensity is easily realized when it is borne in mind that the total number listed by Mr Dames was 156 by Mr Rodgers in the Fourth part of the Indian Museum Catalogue 96 by the same enthusiastic coin collector in the second part of the Catalogue of Coins collected by himself 117 and by the compiler of the White King Sale Catalogue 89.

The descriptive list is accompanied by an informative Introduction and fourteen beautifully finished plates. This Prolegomenon is in four sections (1) a carefully compiled summary of the history of the Sadozais which was like that of other Asiatic dynasties a succession of valour ambition discord degeneration and decay, (2) a connected account of the legends inscribed on the Coins (3) an exposition of the metrology of the series and (4) elaborate notes on the mints from which the Currency was issued. The number of mints dealt with in these Notes is no less than 27 and this fact provides another striking illustration of the progress that has been made in our knowledge of the Series. The total number hitherto known was (not reckoning the issues of Mashhad Khoi Deri Fath and the Kathora falls of Shikarpur which Mr Whitehead has for good reasons excluded) about fifteen.

The legends inscribed on the Muhrs and Rupees of the Durrāns are, as a rule, in verse, grandiloquent doggerel 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'. But they are occasionally neat and clever and embody some quaint conceit, learned allusion or ingenious play upon words. Hitherto, we were acquainted with only twelve or thirteen of these couplets, but Mr. Whithead has raised the number to twenty-five. Ten of these unpublished 'Baits' it is true, have not been completely deciphered and two or three words in each of them it has not yet been possible to read but these lacunae are sure to be filled up when more specimens come to light. Five out of these ten partially deciphered 'Baits' relate to the extremely rare issues of each of the 'Pretenders', Humāyūn Qasr, Kāmārān Pāth Jang, and Shāhpur Shāh. Three appear on those of another claimant, Sulamān. There is one also of Zamān (No. 759) and another of Shuj'ā (No. 1052) which it has not been possible to satisfactorily elucidate. But two new poetical legends of the same ruler—one of which (No. 1029) is an imitation of a distich of Farrukh Siyar (Whithead P.M.C. No. 2130) and another resounding couplet (No. 1220) which could be made out only after comparing and collating four exceedingly rare specimens—have been published in full for the first time.

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تا کد بر چهره نقش مکه سمور شاه

and is rendered as follows —

'The revolution of heavens brings gold and silver from the Sun and Moon

In order that it may *make* on the face of the metal the design of the stamp of Timūr Shah

It will be seen that the second word of the second hemistich has been read as *Kumud*. But the fact that

place on the Kashmir issues and that the line will not scan if the *izāfat* is not read after 'Naqsh', shows that the right reading is 'Kanad' from كند 'to dig, to carve, or engrave' (q v Richardson's Arabic Persian Dictionary) In other words, my submission is that as an '*izāfat*' must be put after *Naqsh*, the prose order is *Naqsh : Sikka Kanad* (or *Zanad*), not *Sikka Naqsh Kanad* (or *Zanad*) It may be also noted that '*Sikka Naqsh Zanad*' would be nonsense

The couplet on the rupees struck in the name of the Saint Nūruddīn is as follows —

سکه شد روش و شاه نور الدین
راغ از محوم قطب العارفين

'Coin became bright through Shāh Nūru d dīn
Current by the Lord of the Pole of Wise Men'

May I say that محوم here does not govern قطب العارفين but is in apposition with it? Nūru d dīn is styled محوم master, lord, as all Saints and great Spiritual Guides or Teachers are, not only by their disciples, but the laity in general by way of reverence He is also entitled the 'Pole Star (or North Pole) of the Wise in God', to signify that he had reached the highest stage or zenith of spiritual knowledge He was not the master of the (قطب العارفين) 'Pole Star of mystic wisdom', but the 'Master' who was also such a 'Pole Star' himself Mr Whitehead says following Richardson's Dictionary, that Plato is sometimes styled قطب العارفين by oriental writers, but surely it is not meant here that Nūruddīn was the master of Plato

I should like to say a word also about the hitherto unelucidated couplet of the third reign of Shah Shuj'ā which is published for the first time in this volume

Mr Whitehead arranges the words as follows —

سکه رد رسم و در روشتر از حورشید و ماه
سلطان حامی دین بی شجاع الملک شاه

It is evident that the 'But' is modelled on the Shāh 'Ālam II Couplet (Whitehead P M C 2858), and the second lines of both are exceedingly similar But the second hemistich of the Shāh Shuj'ā Couplet in its present form is halting and does not scan I propose to slightly alter the order of the words and read it thus —

حامی دین بی سلطان شجاع الملک شاه

One of the most striking novelties in this work is the now reading which Mr Whitehead proposes of the first word in the second couplet of the Kābul and Pashāwar Rupees of the second reign of Mahmūd Shāh. Mr Dimes and Mr Rodgers read the couplet thus —

سکه دولت در و سیم فرد
حسرو دیگر سلطان محمود

Mr Whitehead says that it is impossible to read 'Khusru' on the coin figured by Mr Dimes and he suggests that we should read 'Hasan'. "The Shah's title on the Coins Pl XIII, 1 and 3 and other pieces is written", he observes, "حس, the name Hasan should be حس, on the face of it, one would expect one of the four letters ح followed by س or ش, no word of this kind suits either context or metre. The word حس 'time' or the name حس do not seem likely. I cannot suggest any thing better than the Second Hasan'. Mahmud Shāh's strength lay on the Persian side of the border (p 190). Elsewhere, he states that the Couplet is of a Persian complexion, on which the King is called by a Shi'a title' (Introd, xxxiii). Mr Whitehead has stated fairly the difficulty in which the matter is involved. He admits that neither حس nor حسرو is distinctly inscribed on the coins. He thinks it must be حس, only because no other name will suit and because he cannot suggest anything better. He postulates that Mahmūd was at this time anxious to secure the support of the Shi'a populations on his border and that he styled himself the Second Hasan with a view to appeal to their religious feelings and prepossessions. But this conjecture rests on a supposition or assumption which is more or less problematical. The love and admiration the fanatical devotion and veneration of these sectaries for Ali and his sons borders upon idolatry and the honours paid to them by the more violent and ignorant enthusiasts are almost divine.

The assumption of such a title by a Sunni like Mahmud the comparison of himself with the martyred grandson whom the Prophet had so deeply loved was more likely to have annoyed and enraged than to have drawn them to his side. They could not have been blind to his motives and his hypocrisy and opportunism was more calculated to disgust than to flatter them.

It may be also pertinent to ask if 'Hasan i Digar' is a Shi'a title at all. The Safavi Kings of Persia used to assume on their coins several metaphorical and picturesque epithets to

demonstrate their zeal and passionate devotion to the religious tenets to which Ismail the founder of their house had owed his rise to power and greatness. They used to style themselves

سلاسله ملكه شاهره Slaves of the King who was Beloved of God

(Ali) كلب آلاء حس 'Dogs of 'Ali's gifts' 'Dogs of the thresh

old of Husain' R. S. Poole *Coins of Shahs of Persia*

These were true 'Shi'ā titles'. It is scarcely possible to assert that 'Hasan i Dīgar' is a Shi'ā title in the sense in which these expressions are Shi'ā titles.

The title certainly does not mean that Mahmud entertained any respect or even any friendly feelings for Ali's sons or descendants. So far from declaring that he was the dog or even the slave or servant of Hasan he had arrogated equality with that beloved Saint and Martyr and called himself a second Hasan though there was no point of resemblance between himself and that revered personage. And if Mahmud struck the coins with this title because his strength lay on the Persian side of the border, one would expect them to have issued from some mint in that part of his dominions and not from Kabul and Peshawar.

Both Mahmud and Shuja had before these pieces were first uttered in 1224 A. styled themselves *Khusru i Giti Sitani* and the faintest Shahpur Shah also afterwards called himself *Khusru i Alam Sitani* (No. 1794). Mahmud had issued the *Giti Sitani* Coins from Herat in 1216 A. Shuja assumed the identical title when he ousted Mahmud from Kabul in 1218—the first year of his second reign. It looks as if Mahmud now called himself *Khusru i digar*—another *Khusru*—when he in his turn defeated Shuja at Nimla in 1224 A. (p. xxvii) and once more occupied Kabul. It was a sort of *tu quoque*—as if to say that if his half brother had been during the preceding six years a *Khusru* he was so no longer, he was now a wanderer and a fugitive and had been supplanted by another *Khusru* who was more worthy of the title.

But all *a priori* reasoning on such a question is really futile and the coins only can decide the matter. The reading *Hasan* is as uncertain as its rival because the *س* has an elongated tail or flourish which Mr. Dames and Mr. Rodgers supposed to be the short form or symbol in cursive writing of *سر* and which Mr. Whitehead thinks must be *س*. The best course seems to be to suspend judgment until the discovery of clearer specimens.

The hombrastic sobriquet *Khusru i giti Sitani* is rendered 'World Conquering Cyrus' by Mr. Whitehead but this is not quite accurate.

The Arabic and Persian historians know really nothing of the historical Cyrus. The *Khusru* to whom Nahir Shah Mahmud

and Shuys compared themselves was either the Kaniṣka Kani Khusrū of Firdausi's *Shah-nama* the Kavi Husriva of the Avesta (Darmesteter *Sacred Books of the East* XXIII 222-278, 303) or the Sassanian Khusrū Anushirvān (Naushirvān i 'Adil) or his grand son Khusrū Pārviz or Abārviz as the Arabs call him). The Kani Khusrū of the Irānian national Epics is not Cyrus but a prehistoric and legendary or semi-mythical personage who did not die but miraculously disappeared after a reign of 120 years near Lake Chrechasta who left no son and whose father is the hero of a folk-tale like that of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar. The two Sassanian Emperors who have been mentioned reigned a thousand years after Cyrus.

Advocates of the conventional mode of orthography will be surprised at an (perhaps) protest against Mr. Whitehead's spelling of the name Pishawar but he is justified by the coins and also by ancient usage. The town is called Pīrshīwar or Iārshīwar by Utbi, Alberuni, Muhammad Awfi and Minhājūs Sirajī Elliot and Dawson *History of India* II 25 I 17-63 and II 196-201. This is quite right but most readers will be puzzled by the Bībātīh of which Utbi is said to have written that 'the top of its fort was equal in loftiness to Heaven's height and parallel to Pisces' (Introd. xxxi). The fact is that this Bībātīh is a misreading or mistranscription of some sort. The place really referred to is Bhatīva and there is no doubt whatever about it as the toponym is spelt بھٹیا or بھٹیا by Utbi (L.D. II 28), Gardizi (*Zamīn Akbar* Fd Nazim p. 66 last line) and Alberuni (Elliot Dawson I 61). The last of these contemporary writers gives even its latitude and longitude as 28°-40' and 96° 0' in his *Qanun Masudi* (India Tr. Sachau II 317). But though there is little or no doubt about the name its position has not been fixed. Elliot thought it was Bhera on the Jhelum (E.D. II 439-41). Bird said it must be Bhatnir Raverly (*J.A.S.B.* 1892 p. 247 note) and Sir Wol. elev Haig (*Cambridge History of India* III 14) are in favour of identifying it with Uchh and Dr. Muhammad Nazim has contended recently that it is Bhatinda (Mahmud of Ghazni pp. 197-202).

It will be seen from the title of this work that its first part consists of a list of all the known coins which commemorate the invasion of India by Nadir Shah. Mr. Whitehead has described 66 of them—10 gold, 32 silver and 4 copper. Of the four *fulus* three are from the atelier of Bhakhar and one from Pishawar. Mr. Whitehead does not seem to have come across any copper coin issued from the mint of Sind though there is a Sind Nuhr in Vienna and seven Rupees in the British Museum. It may be therefore permissible to take this opportunity of stating that I picked up several years ago in the Junagadh bazar two *fulus* struck in the name of Nadir in the mint of Sind. They are entirely different in style from the Bhakhar and Pishawar issues as

they do not display as these coppers do, only the Shāh's name, the Hijri date and the mint. These two *fulūs*, on the contrary, exhibit fragments of the *Hast Sullan* Couplet on the obverse, as Pl I, 6 and the words *مراد* in a central circle on the reverse, as Pl I, 8. The date (1160 H) is in the left hand corner of the obverse. The weights of the two coins, one of which is worn, are 197 and 196 grains and the sizes 8 and 7. Both are now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The coin is figured below



ANDHERI,

5th June, 1934

S H HODIVALA

327. THREE RARE KUSHAN GOLD COINS.

Of the three rare Kushan coins described below, the first two are probably unique as they are not described in the British Museum Catalogue, which albeit is now quite out of date, and



1



2



3



are not recorded in any other publication. The cabinets of the museums in India, which are regrettably deficient in the Kushan series in gold, do not possess any of these coins.

1. *Huvishka* AV *Ole*. Half length figure of king facing right, wearing coat of mail and round crown bound with fillet, and holding in right hand sceptre and in left elephant goad. Inscription *.NANO PA OOHPIKOPANO*

Rev Sun god facing left, with sun ray halo, wearing chlamys, right arm outstretched and left on waist touching short sword at side. What Cunningham styles the 'Huvishka symbol' on left and inscription on right *MIPO*

S 8

W 106 grs

The obverse of this coin is the very rare bust D of Sir Alexander Cunningham's classification, which is not represented in any of the Indian museum cabinets. The rarity of the coins with bust D is shown by the fact that Cunningham records only two coins with bust D, both now in the British Museum, namely, Nos 2 and 7 on pp 99-100 of the *Coins of the Kushans or Great Yue-Ti*, the coins being illustrated under their respective numbers on Pl XIX, *Num Chron*, Ser III, Vol XII. My coin can, however, be differentiated from these two coins, for in Cunningham's No 2 the Sun god faces right, while the inscription on his No 7 is *MIPO*. My coin is thus a third and unrecorded variety.

- 2 Vasudeva *W Obv* King nimbate clad from head to foot in full armour, standing to the left, holding a long staff with his left hand and apparently fixing with his right hand a trident to an altar but more probably offering with his right hand an oblation on a small fire altar, behind which rises a trident bound with a fillet. Inscription. *PAONANOPAO[B]ZOA HOKOPANO*

Rev Siva with three heads and four arms standing facing, holding in his two right hands noose and blue lotus and in the two left hands trident and waterpot, behind Nandi with bell facing right. Symbol on right. Inscription on left *OHPPO*

S 5

W 122.5 grs

Only one specimen of Vasudeva with Siva's bull facing right has hitherto been recorded, being Cunningham's Coin No. 9 of Vasudeva, illustrated on Pl. XXIV. 9 of Coins of the Kushans or Great Yue Ti and now in the British Museum. While the reverse of both coins is identical, the present coin differs from Cunningham's as regards the obverse, the trident being absent from his coin.

- 3 Huvishka *AV Obv* Upper part of king facing left, emerging from clouds, wearing round crown bound with fillet and holding in right hand sceptre and in left elephant goad. Inscription. *[P]AONANOPAO OOHPAIKOPANO*

Rev Two figures Skanda and Visakha standing facing each other on a platform, both nimbate and dressed in loose flowing robe and holding a spear, probably representing the 'Sakti' in one hand, while the other rests on hip grasping short sword at side, Huvishka symbol between the two figures. Inscription. *CKAA* (below platform) *ΔOKOM* (on left) *AP* (above) *OBIZATO* (on right)

S 8

W 121.5 grs

The fabric of this coin, the execution and state of preservation are similar to the small coin illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue*, Pl. XXVIII. 23, moreover in these two coins the inscription runs round the coin and no part of it is broken up into two lines. The two large coins in the British Museum, one of which is illustrated in *B.M.C.*, Pl. XXVIII, 22 differ from both these coins, which are undoubtedly genuine, in all these important particulars.